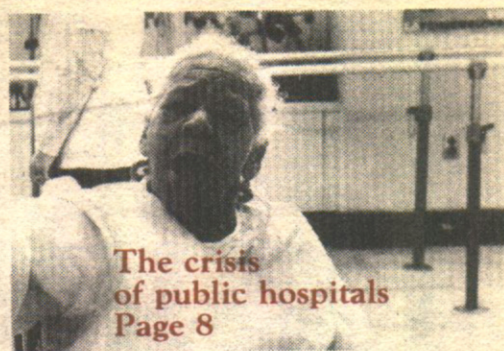


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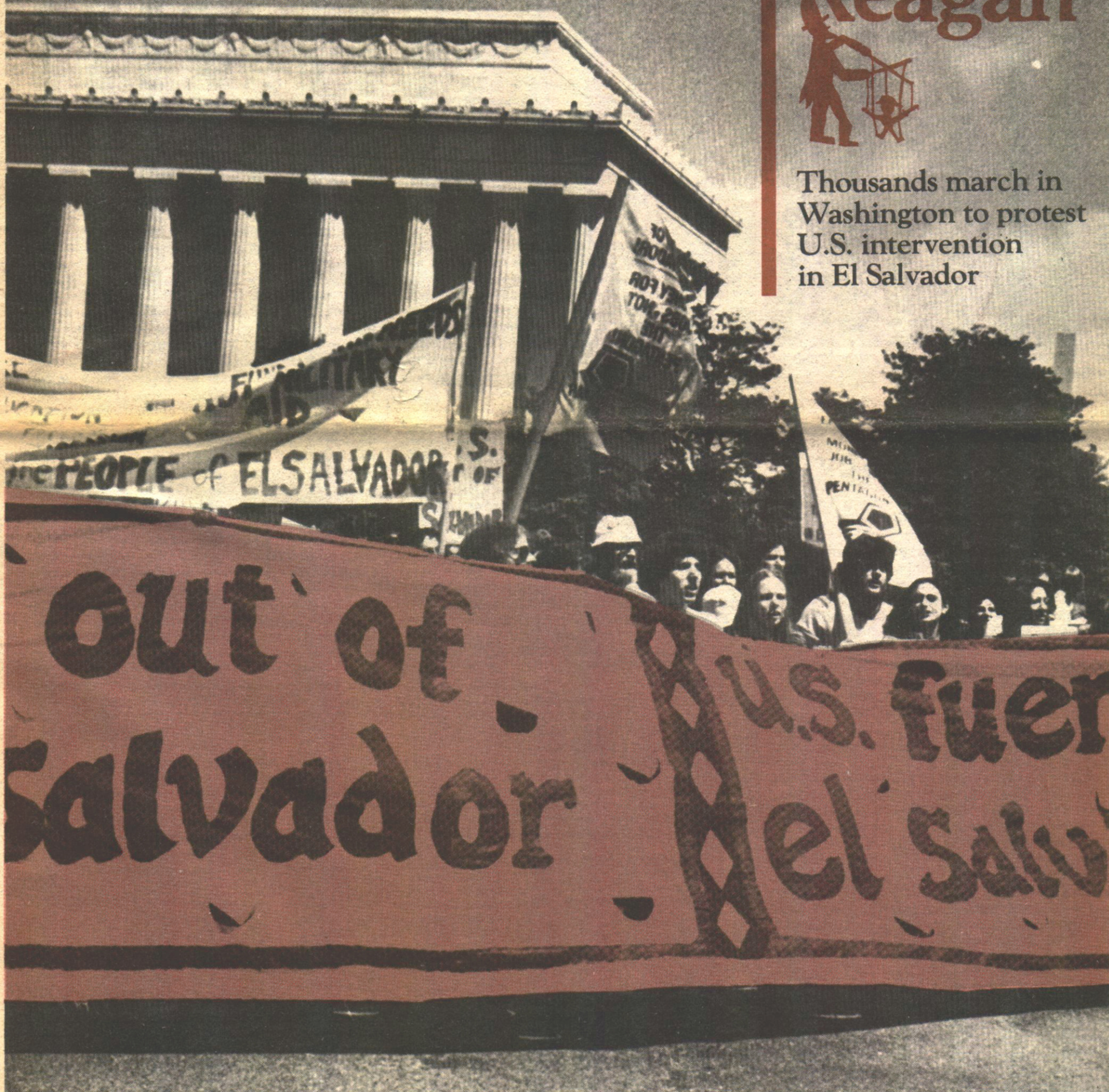
MAY 13-19, 1981

75 CENTS

## Springtime for Reagan



Thousands march in  
Washington to protest  
U.S. intervention  
in El Salvador

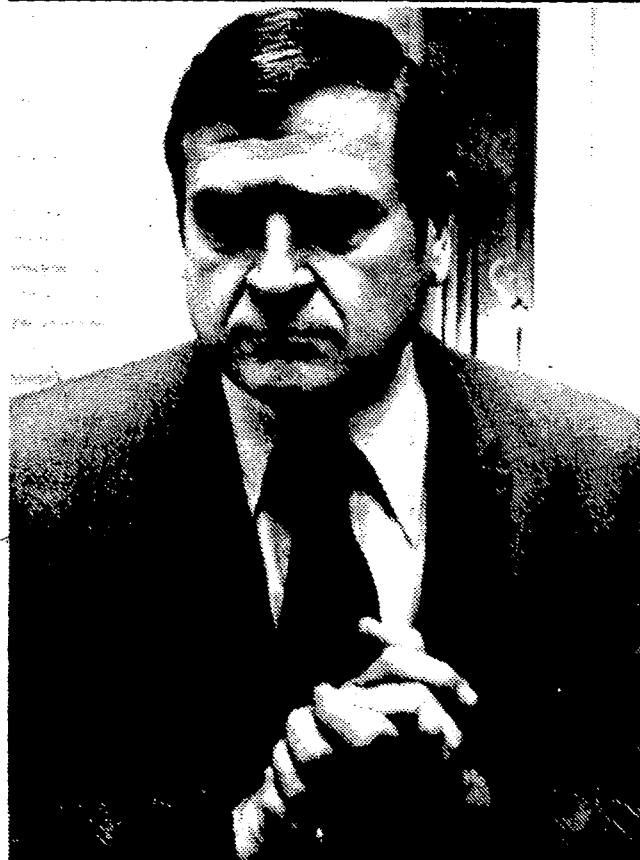


### The Unfairness Doctrine

Policymakers talk piously of a "free market" in the media, but vested interests will benefit the most from deregulation.



# THE INSIDE STORY



Rep. Dan Rostenkowski is one of many Democrats targeted for defeat in 1982.

## Fear breeds action in New Jersey

By John Judis

Most of the election news is about the National Conservative Political Action Committee gearing up to knock off Democratic House leaders Dan Rostenkowski, Jim Wright and Jim Jones and Democratic Senators Paul Sarbanes, Howard Metzenbaum and Edward Kennedy in the 1982 elections. There have been some outraged reactions from the other side: the Carteresque Democrats for the '80s, chaired by Pamela Harriman, recently put commercials on Maryland television and radio to counteract NCPAC's anti-Sarbanes propaganda. The main message of the Democratic commercials was that NCPAC has lied in the past when they have accused Democrats of supporting such things as deficit spending.

But there are some signs of a genuine counter-offensive, on both the national and state levels. (See *In These Times*, Feb. 13.) One of the most interesting is in New Jersey, one of two states that will elect a governor and state legislators in 1981. In New Jersey, a coalition of tenant, feminist, labor, minority, environmental and senior citizen organizations has formed a political action committee, New Jersey Campaign '81, to help reelect endangered Democratic legislators, who share their general philosophy. New Jersey Campaign '81 is the first such coalition effort on the state level.

The New Jersey PAC was largely the brainchild of staff members from the New Jersey Tenant's Organization (NJTO) and from the National Organization for Women (NOW). The 11-year-old NJTO is the nation's most successful tenant organization, which has won rent control victories in 120 New Jersey communities and won a state law that prohibits eviction except for just cause.

Last month, with the June 2 primaries and the November general election looming in the foreground, representatives from NJTO, NOW, the United Auto Workers, the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), the Puerto Rican Congress, the New Jersey Black Caucus of Elected Officials and several other organizations met at the UAW hall in Cranford to hammer out a plan for this year.

With the Republican National Committee already targeting \$1 million to transfer control of the New Jersey legislature to the Republicans, the coalition

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agreed to set up Campaign '81 and to identify those legislators who might be defeated without financial and organizational help. Campaign '81, headed by NJTO's John Atlas, is also trying to get the national organizations represented in the coalition to funnel their election money through Campaign '81.

Campaign '81 will probably not try to affect the governor's race. With Democratic Gov. Brendan T. Byrne retiring, 14 Democrats, including state Rep. Robert Roe, Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson and Jersey City Mayor Tommy X.F. Smith, are contending for the nomination. Roe, a moderate, is the favorite, while Smith is the populist choice. But in such a crowded field Gibson could sneak through (and face almost certain defeat in November) by marshalling New Jersey's black Democratic vote in the primary.

As Campaign '81's organizers recognize, the results in New Jersey will reverberate throughout the nation. "If New Jersey moves to the right," a Campaign '81 document states, "additional impetus will be given to proposed constitutional amendments to balance the budget and to prohibit abortions, as well as to national efforts to weaken unemployment compensation and workmen's compensation." Asked about the basis of the coalition, Atlas replies with one word: "Fear." ■

## The economy is the issue in Michigan

In Michigan, socialist and perennial gubernatorial candidate Zolton Ferency is already gearing up for the August 1982 primary. In his 1978 campaign, which was organized by Michigan's Democratic Socialist Caucus, Ferency captured 26 percent of the vote to center-right Democrat Richard Fitzgerald's 39 percent. In some polls, Ferency had pulled even with Fitzgerald the week before the election.

Ferency feels that he has a better chance in 1982 than in 1978 or in previous years. In 1980, he was elected a county commissioner from an East Lansing district that normally went Republican. The local victory may have tempered his loser's image. But Ferency also cites weaker opponents, the experience of '78, and Michigan's economic climate in explaining his optimism.

"We were only 13 points behind the winner in 1978, and we have a much stronger base this time," Ferency said. "We're starting earlier. Our first financial effort has been very productive. The opposition is much weaker, and most importantly the issues have finally caught up with the people of Michigan."

"Four years ago we were campaigning on the economic issues—on the need to plan, the need to diversify Michigan's industry—and our message then was not nearly as poignant as it is today. We're suffering from twice the national average of unemployment, and many of the programs we advocated are making more sense to people now."

Michigan has an election law that allows gubernatorial candidates who raise more than \$50,000 to receive state matching funds. Ferency raised about \$125,000 and was able to campaign with a \$250,000 budget in 1978. He is aiming to double that total in 1982. In his first month of fundraising—contributions begin to apply to matching funds after April 1, 1981—he has raised nearly \$10,000.

His program, as in 1978, will be based on the proposition that "Michigan can no longer count on continuing expansion of the auto industry for jobs." "I'll



Gubernatorial candidate Zolton Ferency believes the economic climate will make Michiganians more receptive to his campaign.

argue again for the establishment of a public bank as a source of capital and credit, much the same as it is in North Dakota," Ferency said. "We're going to have to find new ways of capitalizing industry, and we're going to suggest that public enterprise will carry us a long way toward that end."

Among other things, Ferency will propose mass transit, food processing plants ("agriculture is our second largest industry, and we ship it all elsewhere to be processed"), gasahol plants, and a state tourist industry. Ferency will also battle again for a graduated income tax as an alternative to the state's rising sales tax.

Among Ferency's top 1978 aides, his new campaign has met with a mixed reception. Roger Robinson, who ran the campaign in Detroit, where Ferency narrowly outpolled Fitzgerald, is not working with Ferency this time. Robinson plans to back Senator Gary Corbin, who, in Robinson's words, has "a relatively decent record with a reasonable likelihood of prevailing." "Zolton had his best shot last time. He'll get 20 percent tops this time. I think it's more important to dig in and get local candidates elected this time," Robinson said.

Bob Alexander, who managed Ferency's 1978 campaign, was initially skeptical about a 1982 run. Last January, he and 40 other like-minded Democrats got together to see if there was an alternative. They held another meeting last March to interview the prospective Democratic candidates, but only Ferency showed up. "Corbin didn't want to be identified with our group," Alexander said.

Alexander now thinks that Ferency's campaign is not "a waste of time." "If Zolton doesn't run, Corbin is going to slide right to the center," Alexander said. Alexander also speculated that if the UAW, which met last month and failed to come up with an early endorsement, doesn't endorse Corbin this fall, Corbin could drop out and leave the field to Ferency. (On the other hand, if the UAW, which has always kept an arm's length from Ferency, does endorse Corbin, Alexander believes Ferency would be wise to drop out.)

But neither Alexander nor Robinson gives Ferency a realistic shot of winning the Democratic primary and the general election. Republicans have held the Michigan statehouse since 1962, and the thrice-elected popular incumbent William Milliken is expected to run for re-election. Only Ferency holds out hope. "In my judgment, he's much more vulnerable than he has ever been because of the long-term persistent unemployment and no response to it," Ferency said. ■

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# Unity prevails in streets of DC



By A. Lin Neumann

WASHINGTON

**R**ANIA KRISST, 16, A STUDENT at the University of Connecticut, sat on the slope of the Lincoln Memorial and looked out at her first demonstration. "A bunch of us came from school because we're afraid of U.S. intervention," she said. "I hope this has a big impact."

Lou Rosenbloom, 80, lives at Co-op City, the massive housing project in the Bronx. Lou had been here before. "Sure, I marched against the Vietnam war. And now it's time to come back. They want to take away everything that older people have won over the years—Medicaid, services, the whole thing," he said softly as his companions from the project looked on. "And ya know what makes me mad as hell? Reagan talks about the government spending too much and then sends our money to the Shah, the junta and all those hoodlums."

Sunday, May 3 was a good day for demonstrating. The skies were clear and the wind was cool off the Potomac. The organizers of the People's Anti War Mobilization (PAM)—a coalition of black, labor, church, women's and third world solidarity groups—could hardly have asked for better response to their call for a march on the Pentagon to protest American military aid to El Salvador and denounce the proposed budget cuts.

Organizers estimated the crowd at more than 100,000; the D.C. police estimate that only 20,000 showed up. The truth seems to lie between the two figures, but certainly toward the high end. Rally veterans of the '60s and other reporters put the figure at about 80,000. The diverse body of people, ranging from the Black United Front to small Midwest peace groups, stretched at one point from the Lincoln Memorial to the Pentagon with sizeable crowds bunched at both ends.

The impressive turnout belied the fears expressed by many observers that sectarian rivalries between the various groups calling for the demonstration would mute its effectiveness. The People's Anti-War Mobilization was begun by the Worker's World Party, though it was later greatly expanded. There was a period of intense wrangling, first over the date of the rally (a number of groups, led by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, had publicized a May 9 rally at one point), and then, after a May 3rd Unity Committee had been brought into the planning, over whether to march to the Pentagon or the Capitol. The Pentagon carried by a narrow 12-to-9 vote, according to PAM.

The choice of the Pentagon evoked fears of police confrontation for many groups and some of the traditional peace movement support either pulled out entirely—as in the case of the American Friends Service Committee—or downplayed their support while remaining in the coalition.

But the internecine factionalization of the American left was not uppermost in the minds of the majority of the marchers. With the traditional profusion of sectarian banners proclaiming the joys of the Spartacist Leagues or the forth-

rightness of the Revolutionary Communist Party were much in evidence, the real story of the march lay in the numbers of non-aligned persons, small ad-hoc groups, black and Hispanic participants and labor supporters.

A contingent from the Peacesmith House of Massapequa, Long Island, expressed the feelings of many marchers. Their representative said, "I have't marched since the Nixon inauguration. But it's time to work again."

Labor unions were also a large part of the rally. District 65, UAW, several AFS-CME locals, United Furniture Workers, ILGWU, 1199, and others co-sponsored the rally and turned out members for the march. Unions from as far away as Detroit and Chicago brought several buses, their members clearly feeling the heat of a Republican administration that is widely perceived as the most anti-labor American government in 20 years.

"We're losing our jobs so that Reagan can fight a war in El Salvador," said an unemployed auto worker from Detroit.

There were a great many people pulled toward the march out of a sense of having to "do something." One couple explained, "We haven't ever protested before, but things are getting out of hand. We just thought we should come down." Another woman described herself as a "little flower child" during the '60s. She came to the march with her family and said, "I don't want to watch the country get into another war. Don't we ever learn anything?"

## The churches mobilize.

Perhaps the largest group in the demonstration were people related to church peace and solidarity groups. Randy Keesler of the D.C.-based Coalition of Oscar Romero, named for the slain Salvadoran archbishop, explained that his organization was conducting weekly vigils at the State Department and drawing support from the Roman Catholic community. By staging house meetings and speaking to parishes the group has quickly expanded in the six months since its founding. "We are trying to make sense out of events in El Salvador in light of our traditions," said Keesler. "The tradition of

ed States. "It's very exciting to me," he said during the march. "I sense that the church is in the center of the solidarity movement due to the example set by the church in El Salvador."

While the show was impressive, with banners waving and clowns goofing and speaker after speaker blaring away from the steps of America's military nerve center, the question was how much May 3rd actually marked the beginning of a new American response to the rightward shift in the Congress and the White House.

As the first big demonstration of the Reagan years it certainly appeared to many as a harbinger of things to come. Ted Glick, from the Coalition for a People's Alternative and a prominent activist of the anti-war movement, told *In These Times*, "Politically, this is more advanced than anything in the '60s. Peo-



Bella Abzug shared the podium with representatives of diverse constituencies.

ple are expressing the need to unite the different struggles—there is more understanding that it's a system that is under question." Glick felt that the success of the demo would lead to greater unity on the left. "Of course, there will be more struggles, but I think it's a time when people see the need for unity."



For the first time in years, the turnout was big enough to make estimates of crowd size a source of disagreement.

the gospel gives us a concern for the fate of the people in El Salvador and a reason to come together."

Larry Cohen came with the Inter-church Committee on Central American Human Rights from Detroit. He explained their purpose as raising the Salvadoran issue in light of the role of the church and the involvement of the Unit-

Certainly the lineup at the podium was a visible symbol of cooperation. From Bella Abzug to advocates of Palestinian self-determination and gay rights, the speakers represented a diversity of ethnic and political interests seldom seen in the anti-war movement. PAM spokesperson Bill Massey explained that the call for diversity was a conscious one

that is seen to be integral to a new movement. "This is the first step. Over three-quarters of the speakers are black, Latin or gay and the labor participation has been tremendous."

Massey further explained that the organizers were not troubled by the lack of big-name speakers and entertainers. "The people are here," he told a reporter. "They don't demand that you spend 10 years in office before they will listen."

Indeed, the atmosphere among the crowd at the Pentagon was very relaxed and the speakers were a secondary attraction to the pleasure of being in the streets on a spring day. Circus performers and street actors moved among the crowd and people eagerly snapped up buttons and tee-shirts proclaiming the messages of the day. It had the feel of community that many people have missed. "It's been too long since this many diverse people have spent the afternoon together," commented one marcher as he was walking back to the memorial grounds.

Even the presence of a counter-demonstration organized by the U.S. Committee to Save El Salvador—a right-wing organization seemingly dominated by followers of Korean industrialist-holy man Sun Myung Moon—failed to spark a confrontation. Their hoped-for disruption of the march proved impossible as most of the demonstrators failed even to notice the 1,500 or so anti-communist ralliers.

Though many groups may try to claim credit for this outpouring of opposition sentiment, the real credit seems to rest with the times. Opted out of political power and feeling alienated from American policy at home and abroad, the demonstrators represent a spirit of challenge to what the media has said is overwhelming support for President Reagan.

Joe Luftig, a retired restaurant worker who fought with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War, was marching with the Brigade contingent. He stopped to talk about the brigade and the need for unity. There are and always have been a lot of differences in the Brigade, he said, but he emphasized the need to get together. "The Brigade stands as a legend," Luftig said, "what we fought for 44 years ago is still happening. And

we are also, perhaps, a symbol that we have to confine our fight to the real enemy and not bicker among ourselves."

It was possible to believe, in the spring sunshine and the gentle breeze, that most of the crowd wanted to find that common cause.

A. Lin Neumann writes regularly from New York.



## IN SHORT

## Red squad: better dead

Up until Friday, April 24, when the City of Chicago and 51 plaintiffs agreed to a court order outlawing political spying and disruption, the Chicago Police Department was free to snoop anywhere, for any reason. Making use of that freedom, the cops deployed a "red squad" to spy on, infiltrate and disrupt any organization they considered subversive—and we're talking about some pretty suspicious groups, among them the *New York Review of Books* crowd, Businessmen for the Public Interest, the Afro-American Patrolmen's League and the notorious PTA.

During more than six years of litigation, the Alliance to End Repression and the American Civil Liberties Union unearthed secret red squad files, dating back to the '20s, on more than 800 groups. They also discovered that the red squad had placed informers in decision-making positions, such as on the Alliance's own executive committee, and had even infiltrated the plaintiffs' legal team for these recently won class-action lawsuits. Exposed as well was a Chicago police "neutralization" program designed to disrupt and destroy lawful civic groups.

The Chicago injunction, which strictly limits intelligence gathering to instances where there is specific evidence of criminal activity, is the strongest of only four such bans nationwide. Next in line is Seattle's municipal ordinance limiting politically motivated spying. And bringing up the rear are two court agreements—one in Memphis, Tenn., the other in New York City (which has yet to implement its decree).

## May Day suit

Several members of Congress have filed a federal lawsuit to force President Reagan to withdraw all U.S. troops from El Salvador and to end military aid to that country. The plaintiffs—including Reps. Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), Barney Frank (D-Mass.) and Mickey Leland (D-Texas)—charge Reagan, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Secretary of State Alexander ("Generalissimo") Haig with the following offenses:

- Violating the U.S. Constitution by usurping the war-making power of Congress;
- Violating the War Powers Resolution, enacted by Congress in the aftermath of the Vietnam war, which limits the president's ability to commit troops without reporting the action to Congress;
- Violating the human rights provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act by supplying military aid to the government of a country that grossly violates human rights; and
- Violating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Geneva Conventions and other international laws that prohibit aid to brutal governments such as El Salvador's.

## Mind over mines

Governor Brendan T. Byrne of New Jersey recently signed a bill that made his state the first to follow Vermont's lead in banning the exploration, mining and milling of uranium. The ban, which took immediate effect with his signature and will expire in seven years, is a compromise between a bill that would have permanently exiled the uranium industry from New Jersey and another that would merely have authorized the state to regulate it.

The ban comes only 10 months after residents became aware that oil companies were considering mining the rich uranium ore submerged beneath north Jersey (*In These Times*, Nov. 19, 1980).

## Disinvitations

Campus activists want to commence in peace, judging from information gathered by the *National Catholic Reporter*. A rally at Notre Dame late last month, protesting the selection of Ronald Reagan as the university's next commencement speaker, drew close to 800 students (and a few eggs from Reagan admirers). On the East Coast, Jesuits have asked Fairfield University's president to disinvite Alexander Haig. In Washington, D.C., Catholic University officials reportedly considered and then chose not to invite Haig to their ceremonies. When Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, American ambassador to the UN, spoke at Pittsburgh University's commencement, 100 professors, students and NAACP members marched in protest; more than 40 graduating students stood and turned their backs to her; and a half dozen graduates walked out. Protests at Trinity College, where she once taught, led Kirkpatrick to turn down a commencement invitation there as well.

—Josh Kornbluth



The morale of 83 striking Machinists (IAM) members in Kenosha, Wisc., was improved recently by the news that metal workers in Stockholm, Sweden, were planning a brief sympathy strike. All, reports Roger Bybee, are employed by Alfa-Laval, a multinational corporation based in New Jersey. To get a better sense of the labor-management relations that might be involved in the bitter Kenosha strike (which began last July 1 after the company demanded some 25 new "take-aways"), the Swedes requested that the IAM send them a copy of the film *NORMA RAE*.

## Nuclear power costs too much

Nuclear power is pricing itself out of the nation's energy future. That's the conclusion of a detailed analysis of the trends in capital costs for nuclear and coal-fired electrical generating plants just published by Charles Komanoff, a respected energy analyst whose past projections have been on target.

Capital costs make up two-thirds of lifetime generating costs for nuclear plants. For coal-fired plants, even those with advanced pollution-removing "scrubbers," capital costs make up only one-third of generating costs. Fuel, however, is more expensive for coal than for nuclear plants.

From 1971 to 1978 the real capital costs of nuclear plants increased roughly twice as fast as similar costs of coal-fired plants (in addition to general inflation in the construction industry). By 1978 nuclear capital costs were 52 percent greater than coal capital costs, compared to a 6 percent excess in costs in 1971. By the late 1980s nuclear capital costs will be 75 percent higher than coal plants with advanced pollution controls.

That means that electricity from nuclear plants will cost 20 to 25 percent more, on the average, than power from modern coal plants, even under a set of assumptions very favorable to nuclear power (such as an improvement in their capacity utilization to 60 percent from the historical average of 54 percent, an annual escalation of coal prices at 2 to 2.5 percent above the general inflation rate, and assumption that the aftermath of Three Mile Island will not add large costs for safety and decommissioning). Under plausible but less generous estimates, nuclear costs will run 35 to 50 percent above coal, Komanoff says. That implies that even some reactors now under construction could economically be scrapped in favor of coal.

Komanoff argues that both coal and nuclear costs have increased

"primarily because of efforts to prevent total accident and environmental risks from expanding in proportion to the growth of either sector.... Nuclear power, technically less mature and more prone to catastrophic accidents than coal combustion, was especially susceptible to design changes to correct safety problems revealed through operating experience."

The problem has not been delays through licensing interventions and protests, Komanoff writes. Adjusting for inflation, he shows that plants that took longer to license did not have higher costs than other plants built at the same time.

Komanoff's estimates, based on a statistical analysis of past trends, set the cost of future nuclear power far higher than the estimates of the major government and private studies used to justify expansion of nuclear power. Many of those studies, Komanoff says, assume that capital costs for both coal and nuclear will increase at the same rate. But the average capital costs of nuclear plants have increased faster than for coal, and Komanoff thinks there is good reason for that trend to continue.

Nuclear power plant costs have increased from an average of \$366 per kilowatt (kW) of capacity in 1971 to \$887/kW in 1978 (all figures expressed in 1979 dollars) and are likely to rise to \$1,460/kW by 1988, Komanoff reports. Comparable coal costs have gone from \$346/kW in 1971 to \$583/kW in 1978. In 1988 Komanoff expects the cost of coal to average \$835/kW. Though fuel costs at coal plants will be 1.96 cents per kilowatt-hour (KWh) in 1988, compared to fuel costs of 1.09 in nuclear plants, the total production cost per kilowatt-hour will be 4.78 cents from nuclear plants and 3.92 cents from coal plants, employing conservative assumptions favorable to nuclear power.

The implication of Komanoff's study is that only a drastic cutback in safety standards, combined with extraordinarily large increases in coal costs, could make nuclear power competitive.

Summaries of Komanoff's report can be purchased from Komanoff Energy Associates, 333 West End Ave., New York, NY 10023.

—David Moberg

## Nixon crony goes Public

Last month, Tom Moore was appointed head of the committee to find a new president for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), now that Robben Fleming is resigning.

Tom Moore? How soon they forget.

Moore was the man inside public broadcasting who plotted with Nixon's man Clay Whitehead on how to sabotage the news and public-affairs programs that seemed so anti-administration to Nixon. When a Freedom of Information Act request filed by the Carnegie Commission on the Future of Public Broadcasting made public the Nixon papers on public broadcasting, the Tom Moore story surfaced.

Moore, a former president of ABC news, was appointed by Nixon to the CPB in 1970. From his insider's spot he told Nixon that he would get CPB out of decisions on public affairs programs if Nixon would assure the organization of two years' funding. Once Nixon approved the plan, the CPB decided within a week that "programs involving news and analysis and political commentary have a low funding priority."

So why was this man, a symbol of compromised CPB leadership, chosen to head the team to pick their new president? Those who made the final decision—CPB board chair Lillie Herndon and vice-chair Sharon Percy Rockefeller—both say it's because they liked working with him before.

Others, including Sam Simon of the National Citizens Committee on Broadcasting, suggest that since Moore bailed CPB out of financial crisis with the last Republican hard-liners, the CPB board may hope he'll repeat the magic. Perhaps, Simon suggests in *access* magazine, the appointment is a signal that the Reagan administration can "view public broadcasting as part of the new 'team.'"

—Pat Aufderheide



By David Moberg

## UNIONS

**F**EW UNIONS IN RECENT YEARS, with the exception of the Mineworkers, have had such intense internal political battles as the Steelworkers. Much of the fighting has centered on the union's biggest district (31), covering northern Indiana and the Chicago area, where Ed Sadlowski successfully challenged a fraudulent 1973 district election and later defeated the heir selected by the long-entrenched, retiring director. Sadlowski then headed a slate contending for the top five international union offices in 1977, as I.W. Abel retired, but was defeated by Lloyd McBride. That vote was also marred by charges of fraud, but was upheld in court.

When steelworkers again go to the polls on May 28, they will find no contest for the top international positions. But in several districts there will be sharp contests between candidates favored by the McBride administration and opponents who are in some sense heirs to the Sadlowski insurgency. Although Sadlowski failed to maintain his Steelworkers Fight Back organization after his defeat, to the chagrin of many of his supporters, a group of five candidates for director in districts that together represent one-third of the union's members recently announced "a united effort to return our union to its membership and to oppose certain policies that the International has pursued during the past 15 to 20 years." Fourteen of the union's 24 districts have contested races, but in many of them there are no significant policy issues.

The still-named opposition plans to continue beyond this election. But their announcement was also intended to stir interest in a campaign that has lacked excitement and focus in the absence of a contest for the top offices. Also, all five candidates face the same charge from their opponents, who say the dissidents will be denied cooperation by the international and will be "isolated, a single voice, ineffective," according to Joe Samargia, 38, candidate in the Michigan-Minnesota iron range and the upper Great Plains. "Our point is to show that there are like views."

**The key race.**

There is no question that the central race is still in 110,000-member District 31, where Jim Balanoff, 59, succeeded Sadlowski in 1977. "I think it's a tremendously important race," argues Balanoff supporter George Terrell, editor of the local union paper at the Pullman plants. "Our district has been the heart of the rank-and-file movement in steel. Like it or not, people all over the country look to see if District 31 will hold or crumble."

The other side agrees. "The significance is very, very vast," Gary Hubbard, Midwest editor of *Steeltabor*, the official union paper, and an active campaign worker for Balanoff's opponent, Jack Parton. "All the other so-called reformers might have a long shot, but this is most crucial for all of them." And an international union staff representative, dropping by the Parton campaign headquarters, muttered, "This race is going to break me, but it's worth every penny if we get that bastard [Balanoff] out of office."

Although McBride has not officially endorsed Parton, who is president of the 12,500-member Local 1014 at U.S. Steel's Gary Works, the international leadership and Sadlowski's old opponents on the district staff clearly support him. McBride's distance is partly a result of Balanoff's strategy of painting Parton as a puppet of McBride. Although Parton denies it, Balanoff claims that much of Parton's war chest—which may come to \$100,000, nearly twice what Balanoff expects to spend—comes from contributions exacted from union staff in other districts. Parton accuses Balanoff of being funded by outside "fat cats."

Balanoff, a veteran of 30 years of union activism, has persistently agitated for the union members' right to ratify their contract (denied them in basic steel and some other jurisdictions) and criticized the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement, abandoned by the



Jim Balanoff's District 31 is regarded as the heart of rank-and-file activism in steel.

## Steelworkers battle for district posts

companies in the last contract. He has worked hard for independent, left political candidates in the region and lent his support to a wide variety of causes, from backing striking firefighters in Chicago to opposing construction of a nuclear power plant next to an Indiana steel mill.

Balanoff says that he is most proud of "winning the NIPSCO strike [a long public utility strike], negotiating the Inland contract with the improvement in the coke plant nobody else got, fighting for the right to vote on the contract, opening this union up for everybody, establishing the annual women's conferences, having regular conferences on civil rights." By most accounts, Balanoff has been an able administrator, even though McBride has refused to appoint nearly all of his nominations for staff jobs.

**Parton's criticism.**

Parton, 42, attacks Balanoff for being divisive and engaging in "irrational activities." He is not able to do his job well, Parton says, because he isn't on good terms with the international officers, as is Parton, who last year named his local's new \$2 million union hall after Lloyd McBride. Parton attacks Balanoff as responsible for the region's job loss and plant shutdowns. Balanoff replies that of all the steel districts in the union, District 31 lost the smallest percentage of jobs from 1978 to 1980—4.2 percent. Also, although 48 plants have shut down during his tenure, he says that the district has organized 40 new units.

Parton in particular blames Balanoff for the shutdown of the American Bridge local, which he says was a result of negotiating an inferior contract at an Inland Steel subsidiary and of misleading advice to members. But Balanoff says that in both cases the members made the deci-

sion—voting three times at American Bridge to refuse the company's demand for concessions, voting at the Inland plant to accept some concessions despite Balanoff's, the staff representative's and the local bargaining committee's advice to reject the contract.

On the steel industry's overall problems, Parton follows the international in emphasizing imports as the main prob-



Many supporters were disappointed that Ed Sadlowski didn't work to maintain the Steelworkers Fight Back organization after his unsuccessful 1977 bid for the union presidency.

lem and calling for tough trigger price mechanisms, accelerated write-offs of taxes for depreciation and extension of target dates for meeting environmental guidelines. In contrast, Balanoff emphasizes the steel companies' shift of investment to other industries and insists that any aid to the companies be tied to tough job guarantees, such as permitting job reduction only through attrition and requiring reinvestment in traditional steel areas.

The Balanoff forces count on a big margin at his home local, the 18,500-member Inland Steel plant, to compensate for losses in small locals where the staff, strongly for Parton but less monolithic in opposition to Balanoff than last time, have influence. Parton's backers also count on his local as a base, but Parton's strength—especially among the large bloc of black voters—has been hurt by the local NAACP's findings of racial and sexual discrimination against him.

Last August the building corporation committee of the old union hall, run by Parton and his fellow officers, laid off Louise Sheffield, a black woman who had worked as janitor and paid union dues to the local for 32 years, when they moved to the new building. Sheffield, who says she had considered Parton a friend and even gave him \$50 for his reelection bid, expected to be rehired at the new building. Instead, the new building committee hired an outside firm—raising the hated specter of "contracting out"—and two white men, according to NAACP's Curtis Strong.

Although Parton's campaign literature insinuates that Strong or Balanoff forged Sheffield's signature on her complaint, Sheffield says that her name was signed by her daughter (although later she signed two notarized affidavits). Parton says that Sheffield retired, but under Indiana law she could not have received unemployment compensation, as she did for three weeks, if she had voluntarily left her job, Strong argues.

This controversy, plus support for Balanoff from leading black political figures, such as Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher and Reps. Harold Washington and Gus Savage in South Chicago, hurts Parton in what was considered his base among black workers in Gary. A sample of workers entering Parton's local one recent morning showed two-thirds of those with any opinion on the race favoring Balanoff.

The race, still close according to both sides, is already bitter and can be expected to become even more so. Although Parton got off to a strong early start, winning far more local union nominations, Balanoff's volunteer forces appear to be strong despite factional fragmentation of old Fightback forces in some locals.

Balanoff's allies elsewhere all face tough races. Incumbent Linus Wampler, who had been a Sadlowski backer, may split opposition votes with Samargia in Minnesota and give a staff representative an edge. In Ohio staff representative Marvin Weinstock, who ran with Sadlowski, suffers from being thrown into a new district since his Youngstown district was eliminated last year. Dave Peterson, militant local leader at the large Sudbury, Ontario, nickel mine of INCO, has solid support at the biggest locals but there are fewer protections against vote fraud in Canada than in the U.S. Ron Weisen, a

brash candidate in a Pittsburgh district who loves to "blast" the international, barely got the necessary number of nominations but took all the big locals, suggesting the possibility of an upset victory.

The international union leaders are determined to beat back the challengers, but the battles within the union are a sign of health and a contribution to democracy that ultimately can make the union more responsive to its members' interests.



## DEREGULATION

## Phony free market in media

By Pat Aufderheide

WASHINGTON

The few existing public controls on media are being dismantled in Congress, the FCC and the courts. Meanwhile the phone company is happy. So are commercial TV and radio execs. And the bigger public TV stations aren't looking too sad. They're all benefitting from piecemeal policy-making in communications, policy that lacks an essential ingredient: citizen participation.

Reagan-era officials are embarking zealously on what Mark Fowler, the Reagan appointee to head the Federal Communications Commission, calls "unregulation." Unregulation is what others call "phony deregulation"—protecting vested interests through free-market rhetoric.

The communications industry is huge. Telecommunications revenues, calculated one government study, come to \$128 billion a year (the phone company's share alone is \$60.5 billion). More than five million people are employed in the industry. Fast change and growth is raising questions that the Federal Communications Act of 1934 cannot handle. It asserted that private corporations using the airwaves had to be licensed, because the airwaves belonged to the public. Broadcasting was different from print, because of the scarcity of spectrum space, and so broadcasters were required to consider the "public interest, convenience and necessity."

In 1934 only one house in four had a phone, and nobody had a TV. Now everyone has both and broadcasting is only part of the telecommunications picture. Cable, videotape and satellites pose new possibilities, and new problems.

## Money ball game.

These changes touch us all. How universal will all these dazzling new services be? With satellites relaying messages and computer banks storing them, how do we ensure privacy? Will the development of new channels of communication be restricted to the elite that presently owns them?

These however, are not the issues that are testing the limits of the 1934 bill. The issues are being defined by the big-money interests—among them Xerox, IBM, Exxon, Comsat, cablers and broadcasters—whose profits depend on how government defines its power over their bus-



Robert E. Lee, acting head of the FCC, worries about the financial health of broadcasters.

inesses. If AT&T is allowed to carry information services like teletext on its own lines, ask the computer people, couldn't it compete unfairly with independent companies? If cable programmers carry classified ads, ask the newspaper people, won't you destroy the health of print journalism, which depends on that ad revenue? Why apply the logic of broadcasting's spectrum scarcity to us? ask the 80-channel cable companies. How will "free TV" survive if cable can steal our shows? ask the broadcasters.

Front-page coverage of the issue is scarce, partly because no one has a fixed "take" on the subject. The TV networks, for instance, fought cable viciously—until they explored the possibility of buying cable outlets. Newspapers are appalled by teletext—except for the news services that are developing it. First-Amendment meets free-market rhetoric, but it's all for show.

From much of the current reporting it would seem that the issue is all about the wonders of new technology ("What you need to know about video discs vs. cassettes"). It's not. It's about power, as the long battle over rewrites of the 1934 act proved. Throughout the 95th and 96th Congresses Lionel Van Deerlin tried to pass a rewrite in the House. But the wealth of interests at stake, combined with politicians' and public ignorance, made resolution impossible. For years the FCC and the courts have improvised on the old law. Now it looks like a policy direction may be set.

## Congress.

The Van Deerlin Bill educated people about the importance of the issue. It also taught them the hopelessness of passing one piece of omnibus legislation on communications. This Congress is going at the issues with separate bills and strategies. The goal, though, appears uniform: support the big money-makers and dump the public.

Probably the boldest example is in the Senate Communications subcommittee, where two bills, both sponsored by Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) are making the broadcasters beam.

The radio deregulation bill, S.270, would give station owners their dream: an indefinite license. You can't file a petition to deny a station license renewal, if the license never comes up for renewal. Worse, the bill would allow the FCC to choose among new applicants for licenses by lottery—so those who can file a lot of applications will stand a better chance of winning the lottery. Finally, the FCC would not be able to require any kind of programming—especially, the bill makes clear, public affairs—or any program format.

It's often said that owning a news medium is a license to print money. This bill takes the metaphor out of the saying.

The TV licensing act, S.601, has similar provisions. The TV license would be extended at least to five years from the current three, and lotteries would determine new licensees. Are TV people happy? The trade paper *Variety* called the bill "the closest thing to perfection since Don Larsen pitched the no-hitter in the '56 series."

The Senate subcommittee is also itching to do away with another tool of

public control over the media: the Fairness Doctrine, which requires a broadcaster to provide a "reasonable amount" of time for discussion of public issues, and "reasonable opportunity" for contrasting points of view. Broadcasters always complain that providing such time costs them too much money.

They've found a friendly ear in the Senate. Subcommittee members Robert Packwood (R-Ore.), Goldwater and John Schmitt (R-N.M.) are all opposed to the Fairness Doctrine. They say broadcasters should not be treated differently from print journalists. Packwood plans, according to the subcommittee's senior counsel Ward White, to establish a commission to review the Fairness Doctrine.

It would probably be hard to do away with the Fairness Doctrine in law. But a commission might do the same thing in practice. According to communications lawyer Sam Buffone, "A commission is a message to the FCC not to enforce it." At least one FCC commissioner, Ann Jones, is on record saying the doctrine discourages rather than protects controversy.

The FCC makes common cause with a Senate gung-ho on deregulation in other

Continued on page 14

## Reformers are stymied

Media reform is left without many gambits, as communications deregulation goes after traditional safeguards.

Some groups that have used media reform within other agendas are shifting focus. The National Organization of Women, for instance, is abandoning Capitol Hill, going straight to commercial media in the top 20 markets with letter and phone campaigns. "We know we can't get far with the Commission," said NOW Media Project director Kathy Bonk.

AFSCME is also going straight to the vendor, buying time for "the largest media advocacy campaign ever mounted except by Mobil," said spokesperson Phil Sparks. The campaign explains the anti-working class bias of the Reagan budget. Even there, he said, AFSCME is having trouble getting some stations to buy the ads. The union is following the advice of communications lawyer Sam Buffone, who said, "It's time to forget about media reform as we've known it. These are not battles that will be won. Other issues—Reagan economics, for instance—are more important for a union like AFSCME, with limited resources."

At the Machinists, another union with a strong concern with media, Bob Kalaski suggested that the union would continue to pressure politicians, particularly on the Fairness Doctrine. "We have pathetically little to say now, but we're gonna have absolutely nothing," he said. "There won't be an omnibus bill, so the first thing labor has to do is to set up a surveillance system to watch the back doors and windows."

The National Citizens Committee on Broadcasting, a Nader group, has begun organizing the grassroots constituency that media reform groups have always found hard to demonstrate. One of the functions of such groups would be organizing citizen lobbying of key congressmen in their home states. The NCCB is also trying to help establish cable coops to provide city councils with an alternative to the conglomerate-owned cable franchise.

At the Media Access Project, a public interest law firm in Washington, D.C., Andrew Schwartzman assessed the media reform movement's great weakness as "never having been able to cut through the media barrier to make people see the importance of these issues. They're cutting up a whole new pie, and of course the media aren't covering that story."

Schwartzman expects that, as piecemeal deregulatory legislation erodes public interest protections, protest will become more diffuse, chaotic and angry than it has been in recent years, when channels for protest existed and were used.

—PA

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## SOUTH AFRICA

## A vote for apartheid as usual

By James North

JOHANNESBURG

**I**N EARLY MARCH PRESIDENT Ronald Reagan told an American television audience, "There's been a failure, maybe for political reasons in this country, to recognize how many people, black and white, in South Africa are trying to remove apartheid."

As far as blacks are concerned, Reagan is correct though he undoubtedly disagrees with their tactics and with the kind of society most of them hope to establish.

Regarding whites, though, the results of the April 29 general election demonstrate convincingly that a significant change of heart in the white community is not going to take place.

Much will be made in the West of the modest increase of electoral support for the opposition Progressive Federal Party. The PFP's parliamentary strength grew from 18 to 26 seats; and its percentage of the vote went from 17 percent in the 1977 election to 23 this time around.

But the most significant result is that prime minister P.W. Botha's National Party was returned to office with an overwhelming majority. Its vote percentage was trimmed, from 65 to 55 percent, and the number of seats it holds dropped from 137 to 131. (The seat totals are somewhat misleading, though, since the Nationalists established electoral districts that give disproportionate weight to rural areas where they are strongest.)

The "Progs" did take five seats directly away from the "Nats" but much of the PFP's gain in overall vote percentage was at the expense of the even smaller, slightly more conservative New Republic Party. Most of the erosion in Nationalist support went to an even further right group, the *Herstigte* (reconstituted) National Party. The HNP fell short of winning any seats, but it boosted its per-



P.W. Botha will continue to make piecemeal reforms while leaving the basic structure of apartheid intact.

## Blacks understand that economic sanctions would create hardships; it's a price they're willing to pay.

centage of the vote from 3 to 12.

The improved showing by the Progressives and their charismatic young leader, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, will be touted in the West; but the upsurge in HNP support is at least as important.

In part, this election can be seen as a referendum in the white community on how best to deal with the mounting threat posed by blacks in guerrilla and trade union movements inside and outside the country:

- The Progressives favor negotiations with moderate blacks. They do not support "majority rule" or "one man, one vote," but instead advocate some sort of "power-sharing." Their strength is in wealthier sections of the English-speaking community—a point not lost in Nat propaganda. The PFP is funded in part by some of the leading mining houses, who would not mind increased black political participation as long as it does not touch their investments. The party never expected to win, but it asked voters, as the Johannesburg *Rand Daily Mail* editorialized on election day, "to signal to the government their urgent desire for change by voting for the party that most clearly stands for change."

- The HNP takes the opposite view. Its supporters, many of them white workers, feel immediately threatened by black advancement. The party argues that any dilution of pure apartheid will lead inexorably to black majority rule.

- The National Party is divided. The *verligte* (enlightened) wing, which in-

cludes many of the new class of Afrikaner businessmen, advocates some concessions to placate blacks, particularly in the area of "petty apartheid"—the segregation of amenities like hotels, restaurants, and so on. The Nats' *verkrante* wing, however, differs little from the HNP, and it has hinted that it may bolt the party if the *verligte* goes too far. Botha has made some statements in the past that appeared to link with with the *verligte*. But he was forced to back off quickly, and he sounded no reformist themes during this campaign. The Nationalist slogan was simply, "Now, more than ever." The party's opponents charged that it was asking the electorate for a "blank check."

### Peddling down the middle.

In effect Botha's vacillating helped push the major issue to one side. The election was fought over relatively peripheral questions: inflation, alleged mismanagement of schools and hospitals, low pensions for the (white) elderly. The PFP did emphasize that a vote for reform would send a message to blacks that peaceful change is still possible. It is unlikely that many were impressed; thousands of black Johannesburg high school students staged sit-ins to protest the "whites only" election.

Botha's backpeddling undoubtedly kept the HNP's vote from rising even higher, but he certainly has secured no mandate for even mild reform. What had been heralded as "the most important election since 1948" (the year the

nationalists came to power) really has resolved nothing. Botha must continue to balance the slightly augmented pressure from his left against the threat from the right, both within his own party and in the HNP.

He will probably press ahead with piecemeal desegregation and perhaps even try to repeal the infamous "Immorality Act" that outlaws interracial sexual contact. Such a move would win him hosannas in some Western quarters; it is meaningless with respect to "grand" apartheid—the sophisticated apparatus of pass laws, *bantustans* and so on that

all add up to political and economic exploitation on a vast scale. Botha was his familiar truculent self after the election, announcing that his government "won't accept pressure from the outside world, nor will it be pushed around inside South Africa."

The Western powers will certainly veto the sanctions resolutions in the Security Council. Their major reasons will be to safeguard the massive corporate investment in apartheid. To a lesser degree, they also want to protect jobs in their own countries that depend on trade with South Africa (a factor that is much exaggerated).

The West will also justify its veto on the grounds that (1) sanctions don't work, and (2) they will harm blacks the most. The first reason is based on the example of Rhodesia, where sanctions are said to have been completely ineffectual. That is untrue. The sanctions-busters forced Ian Smith's rebel government to pay more for imports and sell its exports at a lower price, thus taxing its war-making capabilities. What's more, Rhodesia had to its south a country that never even pretended to observe the boycott. South Africa, on the other hand, is at the tip of the continent; sanctions, if enforced, would start the regime negotiating seriously.

The late chief Albert J. Lutuli, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960, addressed the second objection in his autobiography written nearly 20 years ago. "It [an economic boycott] represents our only chance of a relatively peaceful transition from the present unacceptable type of rule to a system of government which gives us all our rightful voice," he wrote. He added, "The economic boycott of South Africa will entail undoubted hardship for Africans. We do not doubt that. But if it is a method that shortens the day of bloodshed, the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay. In any case, we suffer already."

The organization of which Chief Lutuli was president, the African National Congress, has been hammered by the regime in recent months. Following the January raids to the outskirts of Maputo, Mozambique, in which South African soldiers killed 12 ANC members, the regime's agents kidnapped another ANC man from neighboring Swaziland (he was later returned) and captured some alleged ANC guerrillas inside the country. Also a bomb was found planted in the car of the organization's leading representative in Salisbury, Zimbabwe.

Nonetheless, the ANC has managed to fight back. Saboteurs recently blew up a section of railroad in a rural area several hundred miles north of Durban, the third largest city. The ANC's military wing then bombed a power station in the city itself, cutting off much of its electricity for hours. An increase in actions like these, and a continuing militance on the trade union front, are rather more likely to bring about change in South Africa than anything that takes place in all-white politics.

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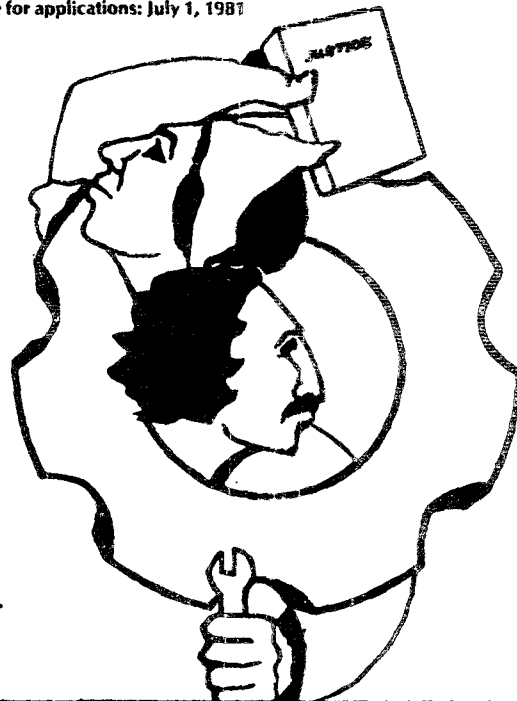
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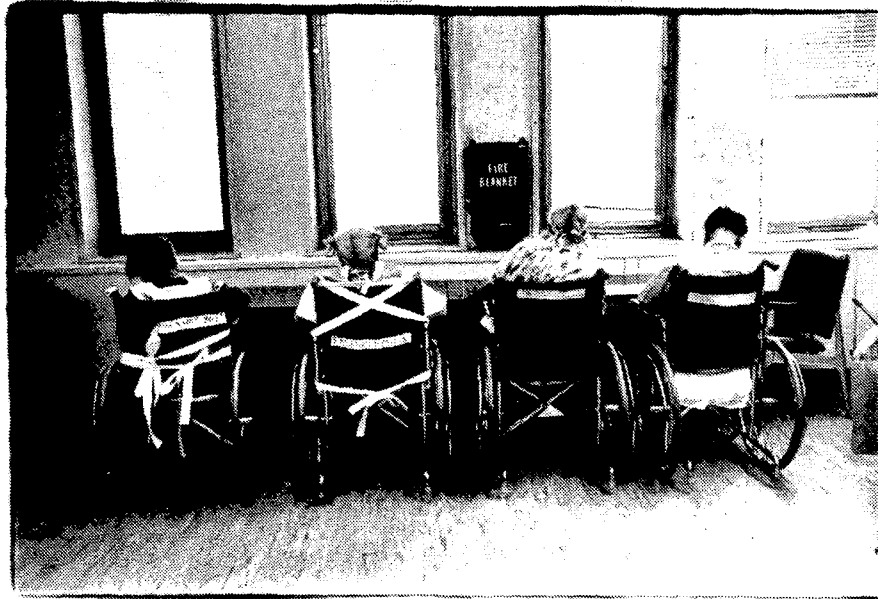
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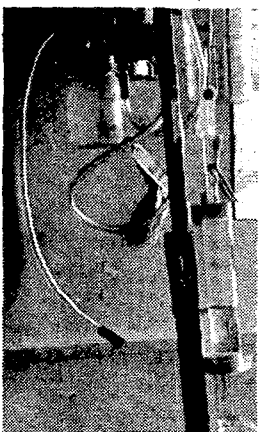


# Always too little, Sometimes too late



By Ellen Cantarow • Photographs by Karen Mantlo

The crisis of public hospitals has reached the acute stage. Overcrowding and staffing and equipment shortages are so severe that doctors in some cities have gone on strike—while others continue to cooperate with grim desperation in a system of medical *triage*, aware that the alternative is no treatment at all for the nation's neediest patients.



*This is the third article in a six-part series on health care in America, funded by the In These Times Medical Investigative Fund. In future articles, Ellen Cantarow will discuss the politics of cancer and a legislative agenda for health care in the '80s.*

**B O S T O N**  
T KING'S COUNTY HOSPITAL in Brooklyn, a 44-year-old black man was brought into the emergency room one morning delirious. From there he was dispatched to the intensive care unit (ICU). His brother had found him earlier that morning on the floor of his room, incoherent, the interns and residents in the ICU told me. Now tubes led in and out of veins and what looked like every aperture in his body below the neck. Foam rubber doughnuts circling his wrists and ankles were attached to cords that secured him to the bed. But it didn't look as if he could thrash around or cause much damage. His body was as thin as a child's, wasted by the alcoholism that was his first and biggest problem. Kidney failure was a second. Neck rigidity indicating meningitis was a third. No one knew what else might come bubbling up out of this fluttering life.

"He has no history," said one intern. This, of course, meant that he had no medical history, but in a public hospital the phrase takes on proportions of mythic symbolism for certain lives in the inner cities—unknown until they become sensational or troublesome enough to constitute a headline or a medical problem.

Other medical problems that morning on the King's County ICU were: a 70-year-old casualty of cigarette smoking, a chronic lung disease case who stared impassively from behind his oxygen mask like an onyx statue; a Palestinian woman in her 70s who spoke no English and had end-stage renal disease; a 40-year-old Central American man who also spoke no English and was dying of bone cancer; a heart attack victim, white, in her 80s; and a 92-year-old black woman with respiratory failure.

The other medical problems of the poor—burns, stab and gunshot wounds, tuberculosis, gonorrhea, rickets, lead poisoning, premature and underweight newborns—were bedded down elsewhere in the vast reaches of this, the second-largest public hospital in the U.S.

American public hospitals began in the

19th century as almshouses, but by the first decades of this century had become the primary caretakers of the poor in illness. Across the country there are more than 1,800 public hospitals, which draw their patients heavily from Medicare and Medicaid and care for some 40 million Americans who earn too much to qualify for those insurance programs, and too little to buy private health insurance. Public hospitals have undergone waves of siege during the country's periodic recessions and depressions, but at no time have their problems been more dramatic than now. Between 1974 and 1977, 85 public hospitals closed around the country. Since then Sydenham, which serves Harlem, closed as a general acute-care facility, leaving Harlem Hospital alone to pro-

vide care for one of the largest black communities in the country.

The economic siege has meant sharp cutbacks in services—even in such basics as emergency rooms, burn clinics and care for the chronically ill. Little wonder, then, that a scant two weeks before I visited King's County, the interns and residents in the ICU, if they weren't out on the picket lines, were at least in sympathy with what had been the biggest strike of interns and residents in the city since 1975. It was no bread and butter strike. On the picket lines of doctors fil-



Harlem Hospital





ing back and forth in the streets around King's County and eight other hospitals in the city, signs sprouted with the slogan: "Better Working Conditions = Better Patient Care."

The Committee of Interns and Residents (CIR), the bargaining agency for the city's youngest doctors, wanted the city to write minimum equipment and staffing levels into the new contract. In exchange, CIR would have put a substantial wage hike in escrow for buying badly-needed equipment. But the city took a hard line, the CIR backed down and the strike ended in wretched defeat.

Now there was a feeling of lull. It was starting to be spring, when the plagues that regularly hit the poor in winter go into warm weather slumber. "It's pretty quiet now," said Jeff Vorsanger, a King's County senior resident, "but in January our beds fill up completely and next winter they'll fill up again. The ambulances keep on bringing critically ill patients—exposure, pneumonia, renal failure, heart attacks. After a while we have to make life and death decisions, we have to triage the patients who'll go on a respirator because there aren't enough respirators to go around. We have sick patients on the ward who are dying, sick patients on the ICU who're dying—it's very frustrating."

The CIR was interested in having a reporter document the conditions out of which the strike had erupted, but getting into the hospitals proved as tricky as getting from the Tehran Hilton into the Iranian guerrilla hinterlands. I had wanted to get into Harlem Hospital, the hot center of the strike, but the one intern willing to take me around for a day and a night sickened at the thought of bringing the press in without telling her chief of medicine, Dr. Gerald Thompson. Thompson proved implacable in his resistance to incursions by the media. Over the phone his voice came, chilly with suspicion:

"What are you going to write about Harlem?"

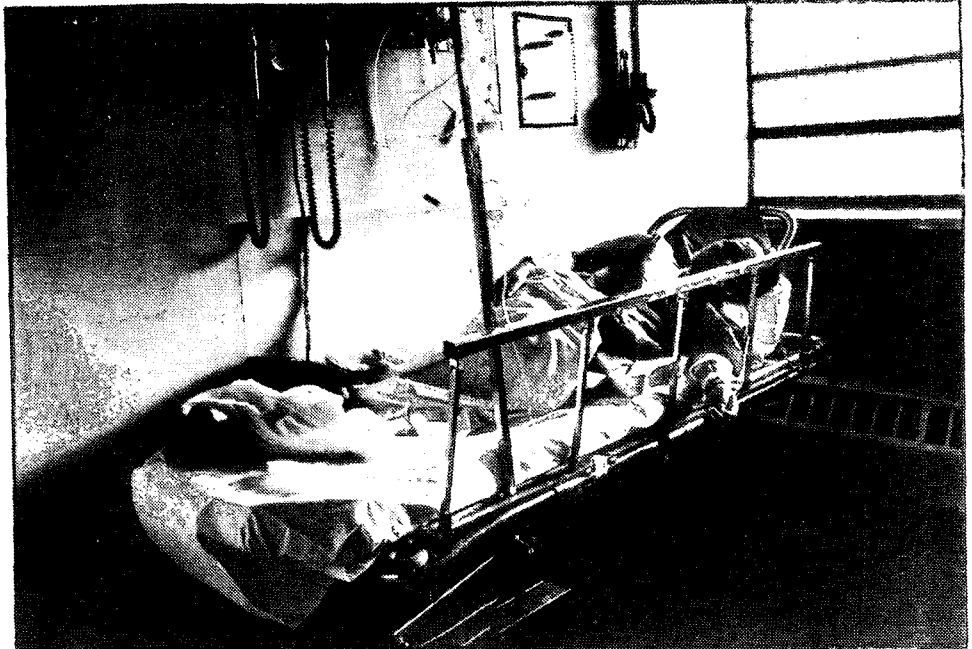
"Whatever I see."

"Well, if you're going to paint Harlem as having a whole lot of problems as compared with Bellevue, say, what good do you suppose that will do us? We want to be able to attract good residents. We're the only black hospital, the only black-run hospital, in the city. And in New York City we don't have many friends..."

When the Philadelphia *Daily News* muckraked Philadelphia General Hospital five years ago, then-Mayor Rizzo used the occasion to shut the hospital down. I could see Thompson's point. Even a sympathetic paper could be complicit in a blame-the-victim process that has been described as "malignant neglect" by Dr. Quentin Young, former chief of medicine at Cook County Gen-

eral Hospital in Chicago. Young resigned from his post when the County Board began making Cook County patients sign promissory notes for payment before they could be admitted, and, in general, to protest deteriorating conditions at the hospital. This decree followed on the heels of a prior assault: the state had fixed maximum income for Medicaid eligibility at \$4,200 a year for a family of four, even though the U.S. poverty level for a family that size is \$8,200. The result was that patients eligible for Medicaid at County dropped from 65 percent in 1973 to 22 percent in 1980. That sent the hospital debt soaring—a fact the state used to justify cutbacks in beds and services at the hospital and to institute the policy of promissory notes. After Young resigned, the promissory note experiment was dropped.

Around the country the malignant ne-



Harlem Hospital

glect theme has had its variations. At Boston City Hospital, in 1973, Mayor Kevin White began cutting back beds and services, not because fewer patients were eligible for Medicaid, but because he said Medicaid patients were shunning Boston City and going to private hospitals elsewhere in the city. But according to a 1977 study by Drs. Hila Scherer and Samuel Wolfe, this isn't generally the case; Medicaid patients have not fallen off at public hospitals to go to private ones. But in Boston, whatever the facts of hospital attendance, it is publicly acknowledged that Mayor White used money earmarked for public medicine to pay his cronies in other Boston city jobs.

The larger economics of malignant neglect are simple. From World War II on, the more affluent sifted out of the cities and the working poor and unemployed sifted in. Corporate investment followed the exodus, with a resulting hemorrhage in municipal taxes. The inner cities had long been an economic battle zone. Now the battle was simply stepped up. The blips of war showed up literally in sharp, ragged relief on hospital fever charts and monitor screens. In places like Central Harlem, Chicago's South Side and South Philadelphia, infant mortality rates approached those of Central American banana republics; tuberculosis was epidemic; and the scourge of unemployment and uncertain futures produced their own pathologies—alcoholism, drugs, madness, suicide, teenage pregnancies.

Images of malignant neglect: an incredible dreariness and grime in the endless corridors of the vastness that is the public city hospital. Accumulated dust in the elbows of pipes. Lockets of blistering plaster festooning ceilings. Labyrinthine underground passages walled in brick painted over and over with grim hospital colors—bilious bleached-out yellows, blues, greens—colors approaching esthetic toxicity.

As he took me through this scenery a week after my visit at King's County, war images zoomed into the mind of a

second-year pediatrics resident at Boston City Hospital. "I think they should have blown it up," he muttered, as we went from the pediatrics building to "The Dowling," a medical building at Boston City with a reputation for understaffing, filth, rats, and general awfulness. "They've cleaned it up," he continued as we passed down a stairwell whose walls had leprous white erosions where the grime had been sanded down to plaster, "but I think they should have blown it up. You have wards here with one nurse for 50 patients." He paused. "But then, there's this ambivalence you have. If these places get shut down, where would the people who come here get their care?"

#### Finger in the dike.

At Boston City last summer interns and residents won a strike very like the one this past March in New York City. Among other concessions by the city were guarantees of minimal levels in ancillary services, and a patient care fund of \$50,000 for equipment and supplies. But nine months later you can't see much evidence of the gains. The hospital is short on messengers, especially at night when it's routine for the house staff to spend a good part of the evening running up and down stairs with blood samples, charts and supplies. "What this means is, you constantly have a borderline situation because the hospital is understaffed and undercapitalized," said Wayne Lencer, a young doctor at the hospital. "There's no margin for error. Everyone has to make impossible decisions. Say you do a test and it has to get to a lab in a short amount of time and you have to

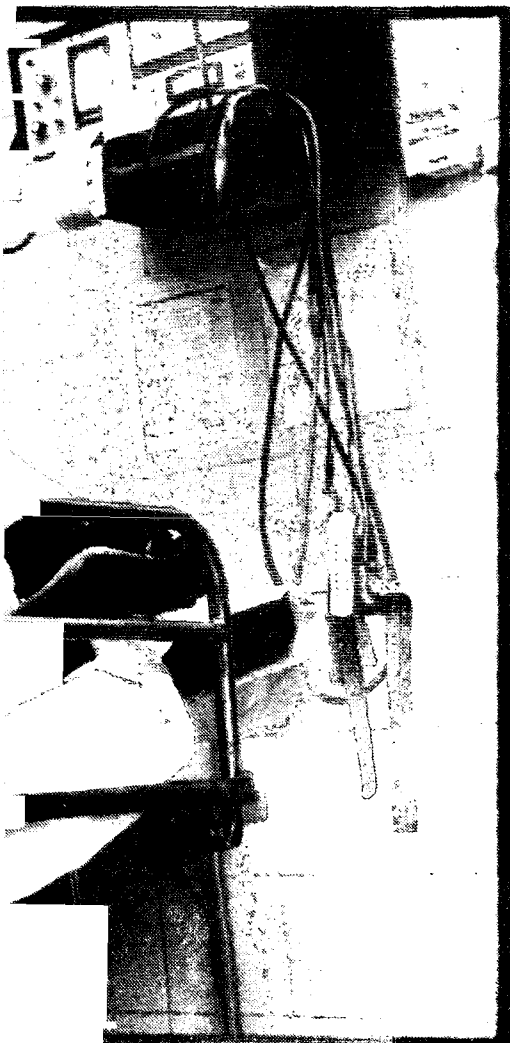
leave a floor of sick patients to do it. There's no messenger. There's no one else on the floor to take it, so you have to choose whether to stay and not get the test run, or go and put your patients in jeopardy."

Last summer, Boston *Real Paper* reporter John Strahinich wrote a story documenting one death, one iatrogenic (medically-incurred) illness and several abuses at Boston City. All were the result of understaffing, equipment shortages and deficiencies. The biggest complaint on staff here is the nursing shortage at City, which no longer pays competitive salaries. "They hire registry nurses instead," said Robin Barnes, a senior medical resident. "That means low morale because registry nurses have no commitment to a place, and they don't know the patients. Floor by floor it means there isn't a core of people working together who get to know each other's ways of working."

It's a common story in most city hospitals. At Boston City, where there aren't enough nurses to staff the wards, the wards get closed, the patients redistributed. The hospitals commissioner has decreed, however, that if beds close because of nursing shortages, they will still count as "medical beds," and the hospital's reimbursements for the year are reduced accordingly, with resulting shortfalls in supplies and ancillary staff.

The chain reaction ends with the doctor. "At a private hospital if I have a patient who is having respiratory problems and I want to get a blood gas," said Barnes, "I'll say, 'Can we order a blood gas?' The secretary will call the lab, the person from the lab will come draw the gas and I'll have the results in my hand within three to four minutes. Here I say I want to do a blood gas. I have to go find a blood gas syringe, which there may or may not be. I have to go find a needle, I have to find the nurse to unlock the medical cabinet so I can get Heparin and the needle—all needles and syringes at City are kept under lock and key. Then I have

*Continued on page 15*





# LETTERS

**IN THESE TIMES** is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

## UPPITY MOTHERS

READING ANN JONES' ANALYSIS OF the Jean Harris trial as "a new morality play for the instruction of uppity women" (*ITT*, April 8) made me think of where news events, transmitted through the media, have also taken on the dimensions of a morality play for the instruction of uppity mothers. The 23 dead and two missing children have several points of commonality. Mostly they came from single-parent families, their mothers living on welfare, child support, or social security. Mostly they were smarter than average in school. And mostly they vanished in broad daylight off a public street somewhere between their homes and a familiar place where they were going to play or do an errand. They had grown up young. They took care of their mothers.

A decade ago the Moynihan report characterized black families without fathers as "deviant." This makes single black mothers not only deviant but dangerous. This week I read that a representative of the FBI claimed that there was nothing exceptional about these murders, that an equal number of black children had been killed the year before. They were probably killed by their parents, he said, as nuisances. And even if these dangerous women did not go this far, everyone knows that mothers are supposed to keep an eye on their children. It's their fault if they get lost or killed. As a mother I've never been entirely free of this burden, nor of the children who have disappeared, though mine has not.

-Kate Ellis  
New York

## IGNOBLE

THE SO-CALLED *AD HOMINEM* attacks on David Noble (*ITT*, April 8) are simply illustrations of his own method. Guilt by association can indict anyone, which is why decent people avoid it. It makes me angry to see Noble maintaining his own purity and claiming that angry responses confirm his "worst suspicions." His original article reeked of "social democrat baiting," not a desire for "important discussion."

His discussion has centered on former German Marshall Fund president Wil-

liam Matson Roth, whose perfidy Noble claims to prove through Roth's association with Matson Navigation, a firm that helped negotiate the M&M agreement with the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union to containerize the San Francisco docks.

What alternative would Noble have proposed? Are technological innovations only permissible under socialism? Were the guaranteed incomes for working longshoremen inadequate? Did the ILWU sell out its membership? And what did Roth do that shows him to be as anti-labor as Noble implies?

-Stephen E. Barton  
Berkeley, Calif.

## REVEALING

I CONTINUE TO READ YOUR PAPER with interest. The article, "OPIC will insure where others fear to lend," by Angus Wright and Anne Jackson (*ITT*, April 22) was revealing. It confirmed my conviction that the present administration has its priorities upside down.

While funds for small business people, farmers, the unemployed, children and others of the disadvantaged are being cut, our government does not hesitate, at whatever extravagance to insure big business, as well as the military establishment do not suffer from its policy of austerity.

This article gives us information that is not easy for most of us to come by.

-Thelma E. Wright  
Salina, Kan.

## SALVADOR DEMO

I WAS GLAD TO SEE YOUR COVERAGE of the planning for the May 3rd demonstration in Washington (*ITT*, April 22). Your readers should also know about the major demonstration against American support for the junta in El Salvador that was held in New York on April 18. Feeder marches came from Harlem, the Lower East Side, Greenwich Village and the Upper West Side and converged on a midtown location and from there continued across 42nd Street to the United Nations for a rally. Turnout estimates ranged from a low of 3,000 (police figure) to 15,000 (organizer's figure) with local TV coverage

putting it at about 7,000.

The demonstration was organized by as wide a spectrum of endorsers as you could sit down and imagine. All told, more than 100. Catholic groups (Maryknoll Fathers) peace groups (War Resisters' League, Catholic Peace Fellowship), environmental groups (Mobilization for Survival) and most of the left parties (DSOC, CP, SP, SWP)—to name a few—worked together at every step.

There was virtually a total absence of hostility to our leafletting, our poster and the march itself. This is unusual for an issue that has to do with foreign affairs. I think that says a lot about where Americans are on this issue.

-Tom Orr  
Debs Local, Socialist Party  
New York

## STRIKING

COAL MINE WORKERS IN THIS COUNTRY ought to be striking for more than higher wages and guaranteed union representation. Coal mining is the most dangerous of all jobs in the U.S. It has the highest rate of disabling accidents, and much higher than that of other industrialized countries.

In 1970 the coal miner fatality rate in the U.S. was 1.25 deaths for every million work hours. In Great Britain the rate was .22 and the European rate was .43.

With health and safety regulations being dismantled as fast as our economic advisors (profit before people stockholders) can get to them, coal miners had better keep right on striking!

-Becky Brandt  
South Royalton, Vt.

## ACROSS THE RHINE

LIKE MOST OF YOUR READERS, I SUPPOSE, I am amazed by how far you seem to be able to stretch your shoestring and am gratified at your ability to do so. Still, though I realize that even elastic shoestrings have limits, I am puzzled that you have not been able to stretch it once in the last four months enough to get Diana Johnstone across the Rhine. Since Xmas there have been massive street demonstrations, including trashing, involving fights between squatters and the police, in West Berlin and by now most of the major cities in West Germany.

In March 70,000 people demonstrated, although the demonstration had been banned by court injunction, against nuclear power in Brokdorf, near Hamburg, where a plant is now under construction. Recently 141 demonstrators were arrested, indicted and held illegally in Nuremberg—a proceeding that raised eyebrows even in conservative circles in Germany. And just the other day, demonstrations happened across the country after one of the Baader-Meinhoff terrorists hunger-struck himself to death in a Hamburg jail.

-Timothy P. Cole  
Madison, Wisc.

## HUMAN FACTOR

IN "THE MISCHIEF SYNDROME" (*ITT*, April 15) Joseph R. Egan says that labor-management relations "is the issue that should be at the center of the nuclear power debate." But it's not an issue with the anti-nuclear movement because changing labor-management relations constitutes a safety reform and we believe nuclear power is inherently unsafe, for these reasons:

1. people aren't perfect and will make mistakes, regardless of labor-management relations;
2. even if human error could be eliminated, mechanical failure would continue—machines are less perfect than people;
3. besides the possibility of catastrophic accidents, the plants release dangerous levels of ionizing radiation in normal operation;
4. N-plants produce extremely radio-

active waste which we do not have the technology to store safely, and which will remain radioactive for eons;

5. N-plants also produce the raw materials for nuclear weapons, which is all many countries need to make them—they have the know-how (witness South Africa and Israel);

and 6. the mining of uranium has produced and will continue to produce extremely high rates of miscarriages, cancer and congenital deformities in mining areas.

Most importantly, though, nuclear power is entirely unnecessary. There are perfectly feasible alternatives available right now, and some that aren't feasible now would become so with mass production.

-C. Cares  
Arbor Alliance, Ann Arbor, Mich.

## PERHAPS

AS IMPORTANT AS IT IS TO POINT OUT our emperor's nakedness (*ITT*, editorial, April 22), it's easy to overlook Reagan's unstated but potentially effective anti-inflation policy. The administration is in the process of wiping out countless jobs in mass transit, energy development, subsidized construction, and various welfare-state services; eliminating CETA, and then dumping thousands of loan-dependent students, their teachers and support personnel onto the job market. If they succeed, workers will soon be fighting each other for low-paying jobs, unions will be threatened with layoffs and plant closings as an alternative to wage reductions. Reagan will see his opportunity to attack the minimum wage. Wages will drop, some prices will drop (as small businesses drop dead), and perhaps inflation will slow.

As appalling as this scheme for "deflating the economy" may be, the obvious use of a predominantly young, unemployed multitude is even worse. Building weapons might employ quite a few; using them would employ even more.

-Mark L. Crosley  
Cambridge, Mass.

## HEARTENED

I HAVE BEEN HEARTENED BY THE INFLUX of letters from women readers concerning your coverage of the women's movement. Hopefully increasing numbers of *ITT*'s readers view Louis Cohn-Haft's label for feminist concerns (*ITT*, April 15)—"ranting"—as an embarrassingly clear example of blatant sexism. As Karen Lindsey noted on the opposite page, in the past, it has been necessary for women to leave "the left" because "we realized our oppression was only being furthered by the 'liberators' in our midst. The job of the left is to confront all oppression."

Responsible left journalism does, indeed, mean supporting women's struggles and publishing articles with a feminist analysis. Thank you for Ann Jones' article and Wertheimer's article on women and unions.

-Betty D. Robinson  
Brighton, Mass.

## IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

REAL LIFE IN WASHINGTON IS SO GROTESQUE that it can't be satirized. The proof of this is that hundreds of readers throughout the United States and Canada have called us this past week to find out if Roberta Lynch's spoof of Thorne Auchter (the new head of OSHA) actually said those awful things. He didn't. And we're sorry to have caused so much consternation.

*Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.*

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## IN DEPTH

# New transit vision needed to save cities

This is the last of a three-part series on public transit.

By Glen Yago

**T**HE ECONOMIC REALITIES of the past decade make highway-dominated transportation irrational—economically, environmentally and socially. Yet the powerful highway lobby continues to dominate the major federal policy advisory boards.

Federal transit officials have never been real advocates of public transportation. Under the Carter administration, transit officials constantly "balanced themselves into lower budgets," as one former state secretary of transportation explained.

Under the Reagan administration, operating subsidies may be cut by \$3.39 billion over the next five years and slow-downs and eliminations of capital grants will amount to \$4.59 billion during that period. This policy assumes that transportation spending is only a subsidy to travelers and ignores the benefits of economic stimulation derived from transit construction projects and work-related travel. Moreover, it ignores the fuel efficiencies and balance-of-payment savings to be gained through government support of mass transit. And finally, as Elliott Sclar, Columbia University professor of urban planning, explained in a recent analysis for the Institute for Policy Studies, the funding cuts become a "package designed to strangle the older cities and especially those of the Northeast."

Recent state government proposals in response to the crisis are ineffective attempts to respond to the federal funding crunch. In Massachusetts, Governor King tried to raise counties' and cities' contributions to the MBTA by 14 percent. When town mayors and county executives refused, the MBTA was threatened with a shutdown. Simultaneously, King supported the Proposition 2½ property tax cap and a 4 percent ceiling on transit spending. The governor eventually agreed to a bailout that gave greater power to his office in running the transit system. Recent cuts and fare hikes have advanced the crisis, which will peak again next fall when the system runs out of money.

In New York, Governor Carey and MTA chairman Ravitch have proposed an ambitious financial plan for renewal of the transit system. But again, a close examination of the proposal reveals more political moxy than serious policy. The Ravitch/Carey proposal will spend \$5.8 billion on capital (equipment) improvements. The financing provisions of the plan are as shaky as all previous ones and promise to recreate the fiscal crisis at a higher level of debt. About two billion dollars in bonds for the program would be paid off by revenues from the fare box; additional state revenues of about \$80 million per year would be available against which the MTA could issue bonds.

Bonding against non-existent revenues continues the fiscally unsound policies of the past and avoids any long-term solution to the crisis. Debt service will increase an average of \$52.2 million per year, intensifying pressure for a fare increase. Ravitch and Carey assume that capital improvements will improve ridership. But if poor management of funds and fare increases reduce ridership, as it has in the past, the gap between operating losses and subsidies will increase.

(The Permanent Citizen's Advisory Committee of the MTA has documented potential funding shortfalls at between \$50-\$75 million per year.) Should future state legislatures fail to appropriate state funds, other bonds would have to be paid off by further fare hikes. And new rail cars will not address the maintenance needs of trackbeds, ventilation systems, safety and signal systems.

Budgetary shell games are being played

*Both local control and a secure source of revenue will be needed.*



in Illinois as well. The Regional Transportation Authority, which delivers transit services to the Chicago Metropolitan Region, faces a shutdown this month. The RTA was created in 1974 with a \$46.65 million deficit; it now carries about \$75 million annually. As the RTA moves inextricably towards collapse, many business leaders that supported its creation are preparing to sack it. A plan proposed by the Better Government Association, the Association of Commerce and Industry, the Chicago Bar Association, the Chicago Central Area Committee, the Civic Federation, the North Michigan Avenue Association and others—which has been adopted with only modest changes by Governor Thompson—would dissolve the RTA and create a Transportation Finance Authority to fund services through a 5 percent gross receipts tax on oil companies that could be passed on to consumers. Forty percent of the money would go to public transit, 60 percent to highways (a formula that could be changed yearly). Additional debt service would be increased by \$200 million in bonds. The debt service, along with repayment of an emergency state loan and the loss of federal subsidies, will leave the Chicago transit system about \$159 million short of its funding requirements.

The bailout is, as one Chicago official described, a "political stunt" to avoid immediate disaster by delaying it. Moreover, the new TFA chairman will be appointed by the governor and given veto power over all budgetary decisions on regional and city transit. The loss of local control continues the disenfranchising of

cities. So far, proposals in every state are financially unsound and detrimental to the riding public.

Cities are worthless without mass transit. But as consciousness of this grows, costs of saving transit will be placed increasingly on riders and transit workers. Fares will jump more often as service falls. The rising cost of travel and inequities in service will parallel the spiraling of housing costs, forcing middle and low income residents farther from their work. The gentrification of transit will proceed.

As this process unfolds, riders, trade unionists, progressive city officials and local businesses dependent on public transit will have to forge a new vision and policy for moving people in cities before they are forced to move out. Lacking the mobility of multiregional and multinational corporations that can afford to let cities rot, urban citizens will have to reclaim control of their cities and their transportation systems.

Already rider groups have proposed clean, safe, no-frills transit services over fancy equipment and cosmetic changes. The Big Screechers, a transit group in Brooklyn, discovered a low-cost way to reduce subway noise that had been instituted in London 40 years ago. Proposals by the Straphangers Campaign could increase safety and ridership. Discussions of new trolley routes that would provide additional and cheaper service have begun in all major cities.

But state and local policies are no substitute for a federal transportation policy. In Germany, France, England and Swe-

of mass transit and intercity rail services.

Transportation policy must be part of an economic development program as well. Current energy and transportation policy is directed at preserving the status quo. Massive government subsidies to the auto industry and oil industry are crucial to current programs. Oil-highway linked policies are dependent upon scarce and expensive skills—e.g., auto retooling and synthetic fuels development. Meanwhile, unemployment of people and urban resources continues. Aside from rebuilding the economic infrastructure of cities, mass transit is labor intensive and uses labor that is easily trained and transferable. The effect on reducing unemployment and on inflation through transit revitalization would be enormous.

All of this would be dependent upon what Straphanger organizer Ondrasik calls a "progressive, inflation-sensitive, and secure revenue source for public transportation." Alternatives to fare increases and regressively-financed public debt must be found. Attempts to tax oil revenues through a gross receipts tax have proved uncertain because the oil companies simply pass the tax on to consumers in higher prices. In New York, legislative attempts to block the cost transfer of the tax face almost certain court defeat on constitutional grounds—a state oil receipts tax in New York could be passed on to New Jersey consumers. A federal tax on oil profits would not face the same legal problems.

In Europe, employers pay a transportation tax to fund public transportation.

Real estate developments benefiting from transit site locations pay a special assessment tax. This recognition that public transit investment results in taxable private benefits could be applied to the current crisis. Employers, large commercial and retail businesses, and auto and oil companies have enjoyed a free ride for years; a progressive taxing of their publicly subsidized profits could securely finance mass transit revitalization for years to come.

Glen Yago teaches at the State University of New York at Stonybrook.

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# PERSPECTIVES

## Humane care for retarded people

By Michael Berres

**A**NATIONAL CAMPAIGN IS being waged against the deinstitutionalization movement. The activists—usually public employee unions (see *In These Times*, Nov. 5, 1980)—report tragic stories of retarded people who are 'dumped' into communities not offering supportive services needed by people unaccustomed to community life.

Approximately 130,000 retarded people remain within large, segregated institutions. It is projected that this number will drop to 95,000. A large number of people have been relocated to small "mini-institutions" (usually ranging from 16 to 100 residents). These mini-institutions are often called "community-based," but they retain the characteristics that sociologist Erving Goffman ascribed to total institutions—"a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated persons, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally-administered round of life."

A smaller but growing number of people now live in "normalized" (reflecting a lifestyle typical of that of the surrounding neighborhood) group homes in hundreds of communities across the country.

The public learned about the deinstitutionalization movement from exposes in

the '60s and '70s showing the reality of institutional life. Blatt and Kaplan's *Christmas in Purgatory* (depicted in the most popular *Look* magazine article ever published); Robert Kennedy's visits to state institutions; Edwin Newman's NBC documentary, "This Child Is Rated X"; Frederick Wiseman's film, "Titticut Follies"; and Geraldo Rivera's expose of conditions at New York State's Willowbrook provided the public with glaring examples of what many professionals were concluding—that institutional reform was not possible.

Horror stories of the "human warehouses" abounded. Institutions were overcrowded and understaffed. Attendants routinely drugged residents—with easily-abused medicines such as thiorazine and haldol—and did not provide educational programs aimed at teaching socially-constructive behavior. "Vocational training" often meant folding the institution's laundry at 25 percent of the minimum wage. Residents were found locked in isolation cells or to beds for days at a time; washed down with hoses rather than being taught self-help skills; left to shuffle about aimlessly in sparse "day-rooms," and subjected to beating and punishment for resistance to such treatment.

At Willowbrook, it was reported that every resident contracted hepatitis within six months of entering the facility. Scabies, pneumonia and roaches were present in epidemic proportions. Only 4 percent

of the residents received educational programming.

As a result of these conditions, parents, advocacy groups, public interest law firms and a small number of institutional workers sought remedy through the courts. The Willowbrook suit was filed in March of 1972. The Court ruled that residents must be returned to community settings. Other "right to treatment" cases across the country—in Nebraska, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Massachusetts—showed that Willowbrook was hardly unique.

The 1974 Pennhurst State School and Hospital case in Pennsylvania represented the ultimate court ruling on institutions. In that case, Judge Broderick ruled that it was impossible to make an institution a normalized and humane living environment. He ordered that Pennhurst be closed. More than 100 similar court decisions since Pennhurst have resulted in residents being served in less restrictive community settings.

Deinstitutionalization was simultaneously propelled forward by a Scandinavian theory. Bank-Mikkelsen and Bengt Nirje developed the concept of "normalization," which meant "making available to the mentally retarded patterns and conditions of everyday life as close as possible to the norms and patterns of the mainstream of society."

The horror stories, court decisions and principal of "normalization" fostered a legal basis for deinstitutionalization through the passage of a series of congressional acts—the 1971 Amendments to Title XIX of the Social Security Act, the Education for all Handicapped Children Act, Section 504 (the non-discrimination section) of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Developmental Disabilities and Bill of Rights Act. All of these bills were designed "to assure...the...integration of all individuals with handicaps into normal community living, working and service patterns."

While most alternatives to large institutions became nothing more than small total institutions, some exemplary models of service—ENCOR in Nebraska and Macomb/Oakland in Michigan—received both community and government support. Michigan—using Title XIX Medicaid money—plans to develop 200 homes by 1982 to serve not only mildly and moderately retarded people, but also people traditionally excluded from communities because of severe or profound retardation or behavior problems. Each home will serve a maximum of six residents, be within typical neighborhoods, look like other homes (rather than having an "institutional" facade) and require all residents to participate in day programs outside the home. Other states are trying new models.

The success of such models—coupled with a desire to correct past institutional abuse—has led several professional organizations to support The Community Imperative—a declaration developed by the Syracuse-based Center on Human Policy stating that "all people, regardless of the severity of their disabilities, are entitled to community living." Signers include representatives of the American Association of Mental Deficiency, the Association for the Severely Handicapped, the National Association of Retarded Citizens and the President's Committee on Mental Retardation.

Community living is also supported by recent research. A New York study revealed that the average cost of maintaining one resident in a large institution is \$34,000 per year while the cost in a community-based home is approximately \$6,700 per year. Additionally, many community-based residents are able to find employment in either sheltered workshops or competitive work situations helping them become partially, if not fully, self-sufficient.

Research also confirms the value of using normalized settings to provide the most realistic practice in developing independent living skills. A further consideration is that it has been shown that the only way to overcome fear of the handicapped in the larger society is through integration of handicapped people into typical environments.

A third kind of research—sometimes

referred to as the "developmental twin argument"—states that if integration of disabled people is accomplished in one community, then it can be accomplished in every community. There is ample evidence of successful integration of retarded people into community life.

Given the forces behind community placement, it is surprising that more people have not been placed in quality community settings. What are the forces working against deinstitutionalization?

One is the profits of the mental retardation industry. It is big business. In 1973, \$2.8 billion was spent to serve retarded youth. In 1978, 41 states received \$1.3 billion in Medicaid funds to provide services to retarded people. As state budgets face financial crises, they can turn to the federal government for support. The federal government—through Title XIX funding—reimburses 50 to 78 percent of the costs of serving people who live in institutions that conform to federal standards. As a result, most states find it advantageous to build, or rebuild, their institutions. Title XIX—originally intended to serve people in the least restrictive settings—is actually aiding in the creation of new restrictive settings. Between 1977 and 1980, 49 states and the District of Columbia requested more than \$800 million for institutional construction or renovation.

Public employee unions, such as AFS-CME, which fear layoffs as a result of closing large institutions, constitute the second major force against deinstitutionalization. There are some 64,000 unionized employees in the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene alone. Given an era of retrenchment in social services—augmented by the Reagan attacks on everyone but the rich—fears of deinstitutionalization have a surface logic.

Other powerful forces support the larger social bias against handicapped people. For more than 100 years, professionals have isolated retarded people in institutions and thereby encouraged society to believe that such people must be served in medically-oriented, segregated facilities. As a result, attempts are frequently made to deny agencies the permits to operate a group home within a particular neighborhood. And in a few cases, group homes have even been fire-bombed by vigilante groups attempting to maintain "community standards."

### A possibility for change.

The goal of deinstitutionalization is to transform dehumanizing, segregated programming into humanizing, fully integrated community programs. Until recently, lawsuits had been a primary means of achieving this goal by forcing states to deinstitutionalize. However, on April 20, the Supreme Court ruled (in a reconsideration of the original Pennhurst decision) that mentally retarded people do not have a "right to treatment" in the least restrictive setting.

What will be the long-range impact of this decision? Court-mandated deinstitutionalization efforts might be slowed. But the decision by no means signals the end of this movement. As Steven Taylor of the Center on Human Policy in Syracuse, N.Y., said, "We will put everyone on alert. Parents and advocates are not going away, no matter what the courts say."

One strategy would be through the creation of a coalition of consumers, advocacy organizations and care-givers. The potential for such a coalition exists.

Unions could be made a part of the conversion plan if assured that deinstitutionalization did not result in layoffs. New York State AFSCME locals ceased active opposition to depopulating institutions when Governor Hugh Carey assured locals that public employee workers would be utilized within state-operated community-based settings.

Finally, funding is available. Title XIX funds need not perpetuate institutions. Coalitions must redirect funding to its intended purpose: serving people in the least restrictive environments possible. Such use of federal funding would be far more socially-just and cost-effective than the present practice of supporting outmoded, ineffectual, expensive facilities.

Michael Berres is finishing a Ph.D. program in Special Education at Syracuse University.

## DSOC Public Forum

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Part II

# REGULATION

## The cost-benefit swindle puts dollar signs on human health

By David Dickson, Gene Frankel, David Johns and Carol MacLennan

**T**HREE WEEKS AGO (MARCH 27), the Department of Labor's Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) announced that it was reviewing a set of rules introduced during the Carter administration in 1978 to reduce the exposure of textile workers to cotton dust, which causes "brown lung disease," currently suffered by 35,000 to 100,000 workers. Most significantly, OSHA announced that its review would involve an attempt to weigh directly the relative costs and benefits of the new regulations. This will be a test case of the general usefulness of cost-benefit analysis in setting worker health regulations. Because even liberal Carter administration economists had challenged the regulations as imposing excessive costs on the industry, it seems probable that the new administration will find the regulations not to be cost-effective. This will then be an excuse for cutting them back.

OSHA's new head, Thorne Auchter, is already an advocate of this innocent-sounding technique. "Cost-benefit analysis is an important tool in producing efficient regulation," he said in announcing his decision to review the cotton dust standard. Echoing the industry's recent campaign to reduce the impact of environmental and health and safety regulation, he added that cost-benefit analysis was "a way to make sure we choose the regulatory alternative that offers society the greatest net benefit."

The words are seductive. Superficially, such techniques offer a common sense approach to decision-making that would be difficult to fault. Yet in practice, the goal is often very different. Endorsed by the Reagan administration, demands for cost-benefit analysis have become a prime political tactic by the corporate sector to reduce social control over their activities on the frequently spurious grounds that these reduce economic efficiency.

The case against cost-benefit analysis can be made on at least three levels. Intellectually, it is far from the hard science that many of its supporters would like to pretend. Projected costs (such as the claim in the early '70s that new standards covering exposure to poly-vinyl-chloride would put many companies out of business) have often proved to be wildly exaggerated. Second, there is the argument that it is morally wrong to attempt to put a cash value on human suffering, and that regulatory efforts should be aimed primarily at reducing or avoiding this suffering, with cost as a secondary consideration. Third, often ignored by liberal critics, there is the political argument that increasing use of cost-benefit analysis changes the nature of decision-making. It closes off opportunities for public debate, and substitutes control by a new breed of "experts" who subtly manipulate the evaluation so that it conforms to the procedures of the market-place.

Many laws on the statute books do not require an evaluation of the relative costs and benefits of a regulatory action. The Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, for example, merely requires employers to provide a workplace "free from recognized hazards that are causing or likely to cause death or serious

physical harm to employees," without specifying that the costs of the controls must be taken into account. Yet over the past few years, a growing concern with the "cost" of regulation to industry, a standard component of the anti-regulatory litany repeated continuously by corporate leaders, has become institutionalized as the standard litmus test for new government initiatives protecting public health. Some of the first limitations placed by Congress on regulatory goals, for example, appeared in the fuel economy legislation, which required the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) to consider "economic practicability" before promulgating mileage standards for auto-makers.

### Putting dollar signs on life.

Implicit in the cost-benefit paradigm are values and categories that assign dollar amounts to human life, injury, disease and suffering which are then compared to the "costs" to industry of installing non-polluting equipment, researching solutions for the redesign of the workplace to minimize potential health hazards or for building safer cars. An offshoot of this risk assessment has also become a popular technique for determining how much risk to health, for example from exposure to cancer-causing chemicals, is worth the amount of money that is needed to remove the chemical from the market-place and replace it with a safer alternative. This approach is based on the assumption that some risk is inevitable, and if sufficiently small, is not worth the cost of eliminating it. Or, as the regulatory reform chief at the Office of Management and Budget, ex-American Enterprise Institute economist James C. Miller, puts it: "While everyone dreams of utopia, at some point society is forced to ask, 'Is such perfection feasible?'"

The equation of health and safety with utopia in this way, however, belies the ideological basis of this "objective tool" which, it is claimed, is being used to make government regulation more effective. Reducing the social impact of a new technology or production process purely to quantitative measure eliminates any consideration of the moral or political dimension. As Michael Harrington wrote in *Decade of Decision*, the very statistics in which such problems are calculated are inherently biased because they assign a zero benefit to eliminating many enormous evils, while a new, non-nutritional and unnecessary breakfast food would be given a positive weight. "Using such numbers, it is hardly surprising that economists come to reactionary conclusions, since these conclusions were contained in the numbers in the first place," Harrington writes. "In short, the very way in which we conceptualize these federally mandated expenditures reflects the corporate interests rather than that of the worker or the consumer."

Cost-benefit analysis originated in the 19th century with its application to public works projects and was refined by the Defense Department in the 1960s as a method for evaluating alternative weapons systems, in both cases functioning to make federal expenditure more effective. Its application to social programs began in 1974, when President Ford required an Inflation Impact Statement to be prepared for every new federal regulation that would be reviewed by OMB and the Council on Wage and Price Sta-

bility (COWPS) with the assumption that regulations would be considered inflationary if the costs exceeded the benefits of regulatory decisions. The practice continued under Carter, who required a Regulatory Analysis of each new regulation that justified its cost-effectiveness, or required a government official to demonstrate why, in a particular instance, the cheapest route was not being taken.

For several years Congress has also considered the idea of institutionalizing cost-benefit analysis through a so-called "regulatory budget" that would set an annual limit for the total cost that each agency could impose on the private sector. So far, this proposal has not yet received endorsement from the Reagan administration. However, in what was the next logical step in an industry-inspired effort to reduce the effectiveness of federal regulatory programs, one of the first moves of the new administration was to announce that it intended to apply cost-benefit analysis rigidly to all new regulations. The decision to review not only the cotton dust standard, but all standards that have been introduced by OSHA over the past 10 years, to see whether they fit into this mold, is merely a reflection of the administration's determination.

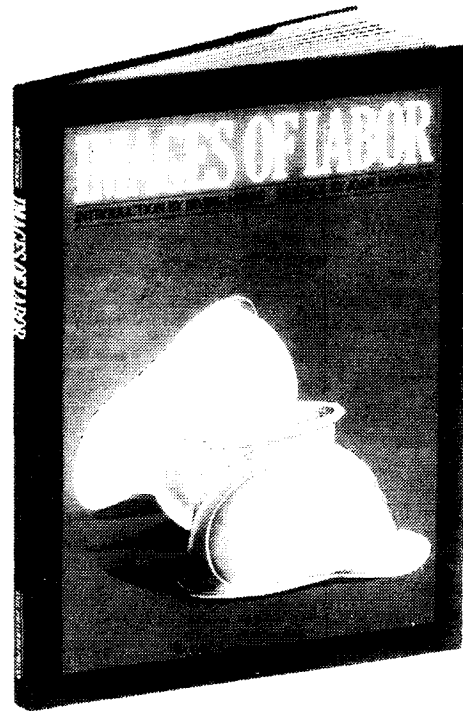
Any successful challenge to the use of cost-benefit methodologies and, ultimately, to the whole of the so-called regula-

tory reform movement, must also recognize its power as a social myth that helps to create the belief that decisions concerning public health problems can be legitimately left to the marketplace. Myths structure the cultural perception of a society, and in the case of assigning market values to human needs for protection against cancerous chemicals, unsafe products, or dangerous motor vehicles, they express the dominance of capitalism and its ideology of property values over public needs and social programs.

Masquerading as an "objective" decision-making process that is scientifically carried out by experts, cost-benefit analysis is accepted as a legitimate way of balancing the pros and cons of government action. The real danger that is that it has been promoted as the method that the individual would use to make personal decisions, evoking a "common sense" justification that ignores many important questions about the differences between personal and collective decision-making. When a senior economist at General Motors writes that "the cost/benefit analyses are consistent with our moral and social values, including the individual's freedom to pursue life, liberty and happiness," his comment reveals the pervasiveness of an ideology that sees society as an organic whole, rather than as being made up of individuals, groups and institutions that may often have competing goals, and unbalanced interests.

The debate over cost-benefit analysis has therefore become a political battle with profound implications for American citizens. A successful challenge of the mythology that surrounds it requires a challenge to it as a "scientific" tool in the regulatory agencies, as well as a long-term strategy for the eradication of the dominance of property values over human needs.

*This is second in a series of articles on the politics of social regulation based on seminars held this winter at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. The seminar series was organized by David Dickson, Gene Frankel, David Johns and Carol MacLennan.*



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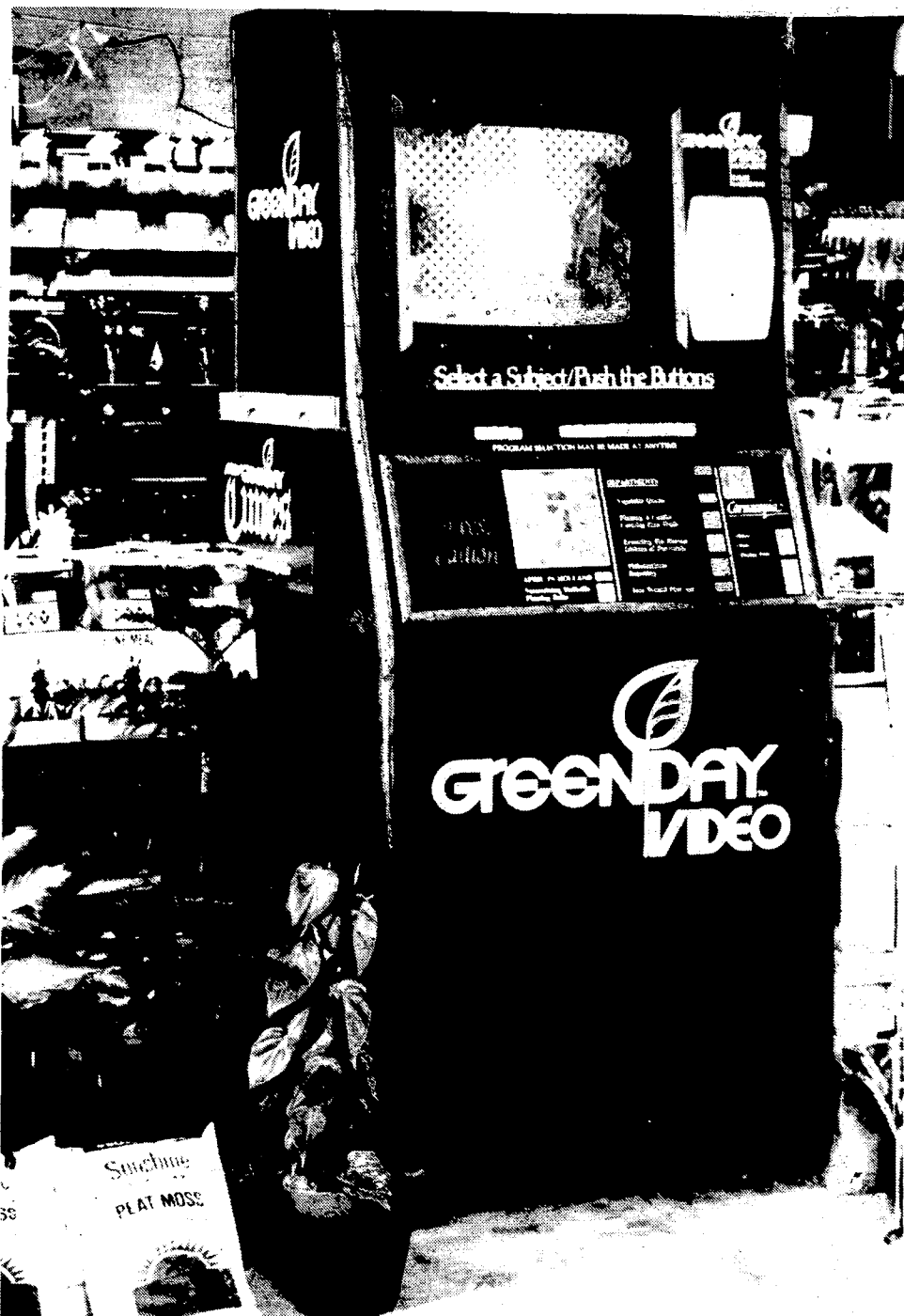
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## Media

Continued from page 6

areas as well. Enthusiastically supported by a March Supreme Court decision endorsing the free-market approach, this FCC will probably extend the current deregulatory trend—but with a difference.

"Survival of the fittest, not the fattest," ex-chair Charles Ferris used to say. A fervent deregulator, he never abandoned the notion of regulation. He argued, rather, that marketplace forces did the job better. This was the logic behind some controversial recent radio measures set in motion during the Ferris era, including dispensing with logs, which makes it impossible to check up on a station's public service record.

At the same time, however, the FCC was committed to creating more diversity in media. Its most spectacular example was the cable industry, which the earlier FCC had stifled for a decade (backed by competition-scared broadcasters). It also encouraged the creation of 10 percent more radio and TV stations through spacing existing ones closer on the spectrum. In TV these were "UHF drop-ins," and in radio it was to be a shift to 9 kilohertz spacing from the current 10 kilohertz distance. The Ferris FCC also opened up applications for low-power TV stations.

Applications for low-power TV gave an unsavory taste of the limits to Ferris-style deregulation. Diversity proved unlikely without government protection for a non-corporate applicant. While minority, women's and community groups struggled to scrape together funds to pay an engineer to assess their area, Sears and NBC were busy filing multiple applications. The UAW also filed multiple applications, although even an organization with its resources was quickly out-capitalized by corporate applicants. The FCC's studied ignorance of the effect of money on new options affected cable as well. After all, dozens of channels may become available, but in any city one of a handful of powerful companies owns all of them and only gives away time or production

money if and when squeezed for it.

Even this limited potential for media access is being squelched at the new FCC. It recently froze all applications for low-power TV "pending further inquiry"—which some say could mean "never." As for creating more radio and TV stations by squeezing the band, acting commission head Robert E. Lee recently said in Congress, "I'm sorry about UHF drop-ins. I'm sorry it happened. And if I get a chance to 'unhappen' it, I will." Similarly, Sen. Goldwater told National Association of Broadcasters conventioners, "Don't worry about the proposed switch to 9 kilohertz," assuring them Congress would never approve the measure.

Public controls on public broadcasting are also being lifted at the FCC. On April

23 it voted to allow the display of corporate logos; loosened up on how public stations can refer to their underwriters; and dropped the time-limit on on-air fundraising. The big producing stations are delighted. They say that the "editorial integrity" of their programming (*Free to Choose? Wall Street Week?*) is so well established that they don't need restrictions to keep them honest.

### Common carrier.

Perhaps the most fundamental long-range issue before policy-makers is common carrier regulation. It's no longer a simple issue of setting the rates on phone company service. New methods of transmission, like microwave and satellite, challenge AT&T's grip on the market. Further, the current systems can be used in new ways—connecting your phone to your TV to produce images—and who should develop those services is in dispute.

AT&T, which has been losing some big ones to competing companies in the courts, now has friends in other corners. A draft common carrier bill would let it carry some information services, in a separate subsidiary. The Senate subcommittee on communications is concerned to establish guidelines. Said Ward White, "The telephone company needs certainty. All businesses do, and in the last 15 years we have had continual unrest because of FCC decisions."

The FCC is now making sympathetic gestures to AT&T as well. A recent decision gave the phone company a guaranteed large chunk of any future business from mobile phones. (They are now possible on a general scale; in a few years we might be wearing them like watches.) On the other hand, the FCC just ruled—under pressure from the administration—in favor of Comstat's plan to develop a satellite that would compete with Ma Bell's long lines and with local broadcasters (because "superstations" could undercut them). The broadcasters are furious.

Jockeying around the direct broadcast satellite issue is typical of the way communications issues are being defined. AT&T frequently complains that its opponents mask corporate greed with talk about freedom of speech, and that's true. At the same time, freedom of speech as well as privacy and universality of service are real issues, and corporate interests won't address them. Responsible policy would.

Perhaps for that very reason a single policy statement on communications will not come out of this Congress. The ad hoc deregulatory policy—still in its first stages, with few hard decisions made—will, ironically, preserve the most pro-corporate aspects of the old regulation. Having sheltered communications super-



Sen. Barry Goldwater

## These piecemeal decisions add up to a federal policy: survival of the fattest.

powers from competition, it then frees them to stomp newcomers on a free market.

At least in Congress deregulatory proposals will not go unopposed. Tim Wirth (D-Colo.), who chairs the House subcommittee on communications, is a long-time opponent of "unregulation." He has been trying to get the public back into the communications debate. In a recent speech he said, "The crucial questions do not revolve around how big the slice of the 'communications pie' each industry is able to carve out for itself. The real question centers around how to ensure that the benefits of the electronic revolution are made available to the public." Wirth's committee is holding fact-finding sessions.

Perhaps in the current climate the most useful tactic is Wirth's—to slow down the process of decision-making. Wirth's educational sessions illustrate a more general problem as well. Most people don't know enough about communications issues—and they also think they don't know enough. Truly baffled by the floating crap game, they're also dazzled by the hardware talk.

If the first few months are any guide, though, the issues are remarkably traditional—vested interests vs. new-money challengers. As for the "public interest, convenience and necessity," it seems to be merely an inconvenience to the policy-makers.

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# Health

Continued from page 9

to go find a dish with some ice, and since there isn't always ice on every floor I have to go looking around for ice. So then I have to draw the blood, then I have to call the messenger to come pick it up. All that may take 15 minutes, whereas most places have blood gas kits, and it would take five minutes."

It's the slow-drip erosion of their days that gets to the doctors in public hospitals as much as the major disasters of sensational impact. But the erosion is what creates the landslides when they happen. "In the winter," said a Harlem Hospital junior resident whom I reached by phone, "there were no empty beds on our ICU. So we had to admit patients to other wards when they clearly needed intensive care. One night, on one of the wards, a woman's respiratory tubing got disconnected and the alarm didn't work. We'd check her every hour, but on that ward there were two nurses for 30 patients, so checking her was a big burden on the doctors and nurses. Someone should have been with her all the time, but they couldn't be. She died. The same evening a young patient in his 30s, an alcoholic with pneumonia, was bleeding from his G.I. tract; he was having a seizure. He couldn't go on the ICU either. We didn't have any modern respirators so we had to put him on an older kind that you have to monitor constantly. There wasn't enough staff to do that. He died, too."

"That night I felt like I was participating in slaughter." So is it worth working here anymore? "It's getting harder but I think it's still important that institutions like Harlem exist. We see patients turned away from Presbyterian and St. Luke's [New York City private hospitals] be-

cause they don't have insurance. The private hospitals don't take very good care of drug addicts and alcoholics. We saw a patient come in and die in the emergency room who two days before had been dismissed from Mt. Sinai. He was severely jaundiced and he was in hepatic coma, which doesn't happen overnight. By the time he got to us it was too late." Apart from the traumas, said the resident, people use Harlem because it's their hospital. "The bad things do happen, and too often to be called isolated. But numbers of people swear by Harlem. They've always come here; they wouldn't go anywhere else."

## Who do you think you are?

At Boston City one day in April a 13-year-old black child, Virginia Tatum [not her real name] stands at the nurses' station on one of the pediatric floors, shooting a dirty look at the intern who approaches her to take her blood. "Is that you, Richards? [not his real name] Get lost!" she says familiarly. "Last time you tried to take my blood you missed three times! I'm gonna ask one of these nurses to do it."

A little ripple of suppressed laughter goes through the group. "Who do you think you are, Virginia, talking to Dr. Richards like that?" says one of the nurses in the melodious singsong of the islands. "I think I am Virginia Tatum, a patient...who got a disease...while under medical care," says the kid, with pregnant pauses for effect between the phrases of this charge. She sticks out her lips belligerently at Richards. "C'mon, Virginia, you know I'm OK," says Richards, a little self-consciously. "You think you're OK, I know you're not," says Virginia, trailing her IV behind her as she precedes him into a side room.

Did Virginia Tatum get an iatrogenic illness at the hospital? Maybe, Richards concedes. Still, she's been coming here for asthma treatments for several years.



Sometimes she looks for excuses not to leave. She likes hanging around. She knows the staff. They like her. Her relations with them are approximately as good as mine were at her age with my private doctor, a family friend. Did I ever get an iatrogenic illness while under my private doctor's care? No, but I might have. Iatrogenesis isn't peculiar to the poor; misdiagnosis, overprescription and overtreatment happen to the well-to-do and the poor alike. Changing this would mean changing the content of American

medicine.

Perhaps it would be better if no one were treated by doctors, then? True, when doctors went on strike in Israel several years ago, deaths in that country dropped. Still, if I found tomorrow that I had pneumonia or a lump in my breast, I'd go to my medical high priest just the same as anyone else, caught on the horns of the dilemmas I have described in earlier articles of this series.

Many of the diseases seen in the emergency rooms, the wards and ICUs of public hospitals are social—the traumas (burns and wounds), the lead poisoning, alcoholism and drug cases. Uniformly, the doctors with whom I spoke in the course of writing this article felt that public hospitals were better than private ones in treating these illnesses because the publics were more practiced and the doctors more compassionate in treating them.

Almost as uniformly, the doctors felt that prevention was the answer. As a Boston City resident put it, "You feel like you're putting band-aids on a gaping wound." But three months into the Reagan regime, what preventive health programs there are—lead screening, for instance—are being ground down to a sameness of "block grants" to be allocated to the states for redistribution at state discretion. What will happen to prevention under Reagan? No one quite knows, though you may make guesses of your own. As to the health of the poor, for the foreseeable future only the public hospital stands between it and an increasingly savage environment.

Ellen Cantarow, a columnist for the Cambridge Real Paper and author of *Moving the Mountain: Women Working for Social Change*, is now attending the Boston School of Public Health. Members of the Health Policy Advisory Center assisted in the research for this series. Contact them at Health/PAC, 17 Murray St., New York, NY.

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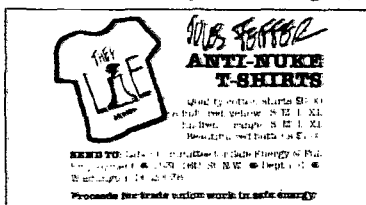
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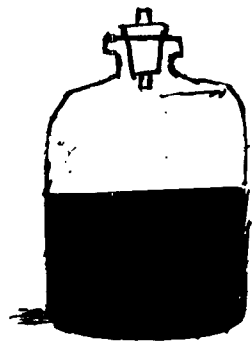
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# BLOOD HARVEST



CHICAGO

By Robert L. Cohen

**I**MAGINE A DAMP, COLD, DARK ASTEROID. Humanoids are kept in pen-like enclosures, feeding at troughs filled with slop. Twice each week, each humanoid is taken to a pleasant, well-lit room. He or she is placed on a comfortable couch, given orange juice, sweets and fruit. His or her blood is removed and processed, with the depleted blood reinfused. Somewhat groggy, but with their pockets filled with worthless tokens and trinkets, they are then returned to their pens. Every Monday, a transport rocket lands, loads its tanks with the week's harvest, and takes off again for earth. There the precious fluids are further processed into valuable medicinals for the benefit of sick earthlings. By now, the value of the fluid has increased a hundredfold.

The reality of 1981 at Chicago's Cook County jail beckons us to examine prison industry uncomfortably like that on our asteroid. During fall 1980, the SARA Corporation began a plasmapheresis program at the jail, inviting all inmates to sell their plasma. Plasmapheresis is a process in which blood is removed from the donor, the red blood cells separated from the protein rich portion and re-suspended in salt water, and the blood then returned to the donor. Plasma, the name for this protein rich component, is then sold to drug companies (Baxter-Travenol, among others, in the case of SARA).

The drug companies process the plasma to make a variety of products used in treatment of hemophilia and serious infection, and in support for critically-ill patients. It is a growing industry, with international scope in both purchase and distribution of the plasma and plasma components.

At the Cook County jail, inmates are given the opportunity to have plasmapheresis performed on them two times each week. According to inmates, the simplest thing to accomplish at the jail is to sell plasma. Guards—employees of the Cook County Department of Corrections, either while working for the Department or hired on their time off by SARA—are always available to transport inmates from their cells to the plasmapheresis building. SARA performs a screening evaluation, including a physical examination and laboratory tests. If the inmates pass the test, they are then scheduled for a plasmapheresis session.

The inmates are taken to the SARA building. There they have their plasma removed and receive fresh fruit and juice and \$6.25. SARA claims they pay \$7.50 for the plasma, \$1.00 of which goes to pay off the cost of the building where the plasmapheresis is performed. When SARA has been fully reimbursed for their costs, the building will belong to Cook County, literally paid for with the inmates' blood. SARA also pays 25 cents from each purchase to a Prisoner Benevolent Fund. Inmates are encouraged to have plasmapheresis twice each week.

## Harvest.

There are at least four important reasons why plasmapheresis by the SARA Corporation should not be performed at the Cook County jail. The most immediate is the danger to the inmates. The SARA Corporation operation at the Cook

County jail involves "harvesting" 500 ml. of plasma from inmates twice a week. Although the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) has approved such a program, which yields a yearly harvest of 50-60 liters per person, in Europe the acceptable limit is 10 to 15 liters per year. The dangers of plasmapheresis to the inmates include a fall in total serum protein and a fall in serum immunoglobulins, which help to fight infection. There is also an increase in the proteins associated with atherosclerosis. In animal studies, plasmapheresis has been shown to cause an increase in the synthesis of the proteins. These proteins are definite factors for the development of atherosclerosis and heart attacks.

Danger also exists for the recipients of inmate-donated plasma. In Illinois, no blood from paid "donors" is used for transfusion purposes because the risk of hepatitis transmission is much greater with this population. Plasma is not covered under the same laws, because the commercial plasmapheresis procurers and processors control the production facilities. Although SARA screens for patients with active Hepatitis, this is not sufficient, or 100 percent effective.

The incidence of hepatitis among hemophiliacs who receive the anti-hemophilic factor prepared from commercially-obtained plasma is very high. Purchase of plasma from inmates, including many who have visible needle tracks

from use of narcotics, is unacceptable. Yet this continues to be SARA's practice. The most common type of hepatitis resulting from blood transfusion is non-A, non-B hepatitis. This type is more likely to be transmitted in blood from commercial, rather than volunteer, donors, and there is no test to screen for it.

Further, the SARA program is coercive. The SARA plasmapheresis program at Cook County jail is the only legal way that inmates at the jail can earn money. Most inmates are in the jail precisely because they don't have enough money to make bail.

Can this be called coercive? Can't the inmates refuse to participate? Is there any force, overt or covert, used to make inmates "donate" their plasma?

The incentives to "donate"—the break from jail routine, the pleasant surroundings at the SARA building, the cordiality of the guards who so eagerly search out willing "donors" and escort them to their sessions, the fruit and juice snacks SARA provides, as well as the \$13.00 per week guaranteed income—are powerful inducements, which in a jail setting are coercive.

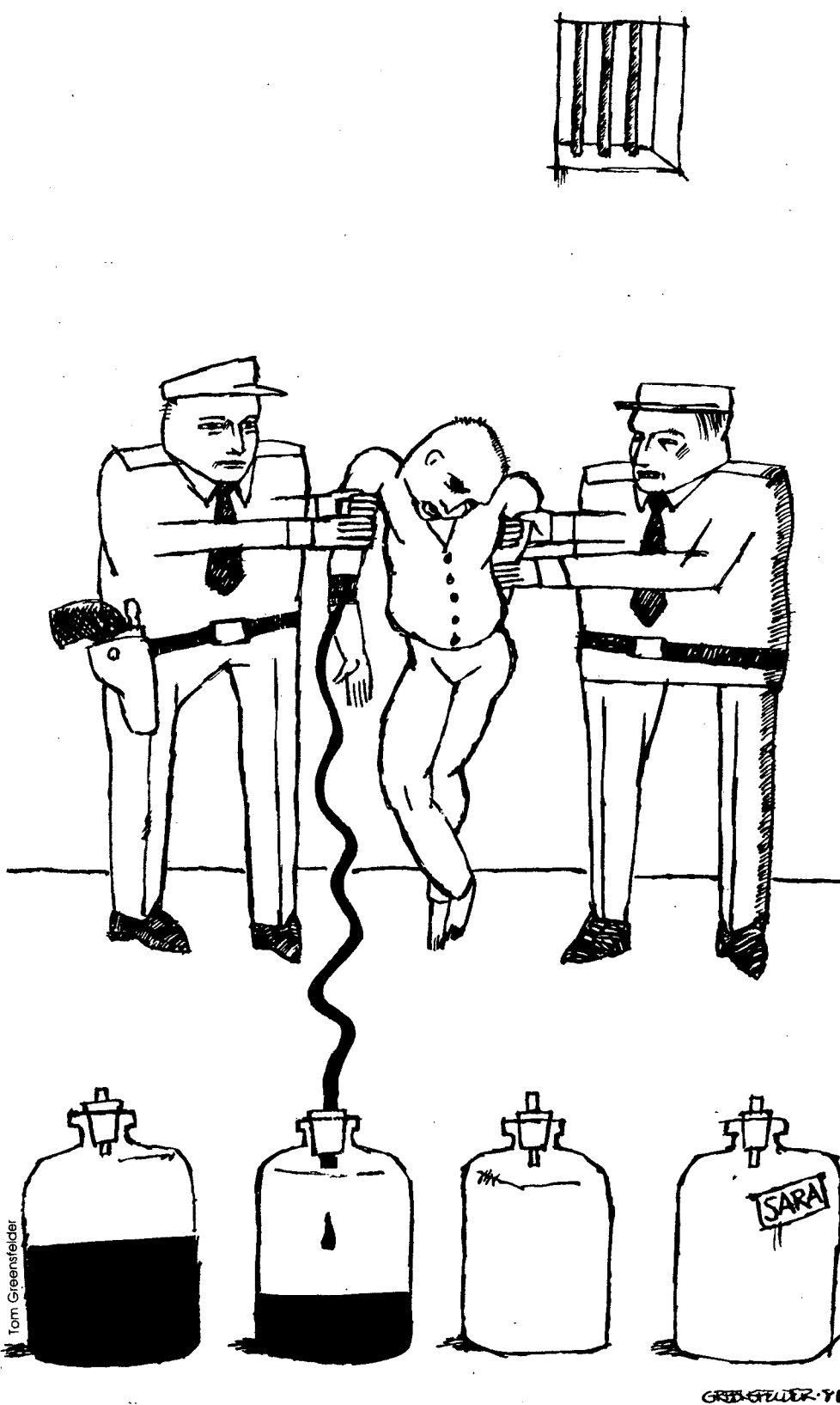
## Foreign trade.

There is a national and international traffic in human plasma. In the summer of 1979, Pedro Chamorro was publisher of *La Prensa*, a Managua, Nicaragua, newspaper. He wrote an editorial critical of two Managua plasmapheresis centers owned in part by then-Nicaraguan head of state General Anastasio Somoza. Two days later, Chamorro was assassinated by Somoza forces. Chamorro's funeral marked the beginning of the final stage of the Sandinista revolution. One of the first acts in that final stage was a march from Chamorro's funeral to one of the plasmapheresis centers, which the people burned to the ground.

It is common in the U.S. for people to support themselves partially by being commercial "donors" for plasmapheresis programs. Although FDA regulations permit twice-weekly collection, four times the harvest recommended by the Council of Europe, many donors give at more than one center under the same or different names. Commercial plasma centers generally pay two or three times the \$6.50 offered by SARA to inmates at the Cook County jail. Since follow-up blood tests are recommended on only a four-month basis, serious harm can come to desperate "donors" who surreptitiously sell their plasma on a frequent basis. Seventy percent of the world plasma supply comes from U.S. corporations. Europe imports 60 percent of its plasma supply. U.S. pharmaceutical companies operate plasmapheresis centers in Brazil, Colombia, South Korea and Puerto Rico.

The future is upon us. The distant asteroid is as close as the Cook County jail and as far away as South Korea. SARA Corporation performs 500 plasmaphereses each day at its facility in Louisiana's Angola Penitentiary. They have hopes for a similar level of activity for their program at the Cook County jail.

**Robert L. Cohen, a doctor at Cook County Hospital in Chicago, will begin work this fall at Rikers Island (prison) Health Service in New York.**



Tom Greenfelder

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